
Lives the
third
Volum.
MBurghers delin. et sculp.

THE

# Third Volume

OF

# *PLUTARCH's*

# LIVES.

*Tranſlated from the Greek,*

BY

SEVERAL HANDS.

*LONDON:*

Printed for *Jacob Tonſon*, at *Shakeſpear's Head* over-againſt *Catherine Street* in the *Strand*. MDCCXI.

BODLEIAN
P
14 AUG 1953
LIBRARY

# *The Lives contained in the Third Volume.*


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Pyrrhus*, Tranſlated by | Dr. *Croune*. | Page 1 |
| *Caius Marius*, | Mr. *Stapleton*. | p. 71 |
| *Lyſander*, | Mr. *Leman*. | p. 156 |
| *Sylla*, | Mr. *Davies*. | p. 209 |
| *Cimon*, | Mr. *Morgan*. | p. 291 |
| *Lucullus*, | Mr. *Thornburgh*. | p. 335 |
| *Nicias*, | Mr. *Rymer*. | p. 421 |
| *Craſſus*, | Mr. *Amhurſt*. | p. 484 |
| *Eumenes*. | | p. 553 |
| *Sertorius*, | Dr. *Brown*. | p. 588 |

## *A Chronological Table to the Third Volume of* Plutarch's *Lives.*

| | The *Olympiad.* | The Year of the *Olympiad.* | After the building of *Rome.* | After the World's Creation. | Before the coming of Christ. | The *Julian* Period. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Pyrrhus.* | 123 | 1 | 465 | 3662 | 86 | 4426 |
| *Caius Marius*, first time Consul. | 168 | 2 | 646 | 3843 | 105 | 4607 |
| *Lysander* took *Athens.* | 93 | 4 | 348 | 3545 | 403 | 4309 |
| *Sylla* Consul. | 173 | 1 | 665 | 3862 | 86 | 4626 |
| *Cimon* overthrew the *Persians.* | 78 | 1 | 285 | 3482 | 466 | 4246 |
| *Lucullus.* | 177 | 2 | 682 | 3879 | 69 | 4643 |
| *Nicias.* | 91 | 1 | 337 | 3534 | 414 | 4298 |
| *Marcus Crassus*, first time Consul. | 177 | 3 | 683 | 3880 | 68 | 4644 |
| *Eumenes.* | 114 | 2 | 431 | 3628 | 320 | 4392 |
| *Sertorius*, the Battel of *Sucro.* | 175 | 4 | 676 | 3873 | 75 | 4637 |

# PYRRHUS.



# THE LIFE OF *PYRRHUS.*

From the *Greek*,
By *WILLIAM CROWNE, M. D.*
Fell. of the *Coll.* of *Physicians.*

VOLUME III.

OF the *Thesprotes* and *Molossians* after the great Inundation, the first King some write was *Phaeton*, one of them who in *Pelasgus* Company came into *Epirus*: Others tell us *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* having built a Temple at *Dodona*, settled there among the *Molossians*. In after time *Neoptolemus*, *Achilles*'s Son, transplanting

planting a Colony, poſſeſt theſe Parts himſelf, and left a Succeſſion of Kings after him, nam'd *Pyrrhidæ* (for he in his Youth was call'd *Pyrrhus*) and of his Legitimate Children, one born of *Lanaſſa* Daughter of *Cleôdes*, *Hyllus* his Son, he nam'd *Pyrrhus* alſo. From him *Achilles* came to have Divine Honours in *Epirus*, under the name of *Aſpetus* in the Language of the Country: After theſe firſt Kings, thoſe of the following middle times becoming barbarous, and ſo render'd both in their Governments and Lives obſcure; *Tharrytes* is ſaid to be the firſt, who, by adorning Cities with *Greek* Manners and Learning, and Laws acceptable to Mankind, left any Fame of himſelf. *Alcetes* was the Son of *Tharrytes*, *Arybas* of *Alcetas*, and of *Arybas* and *Troas* his Queen, *Æacides:* He married *Pthia* the Daughter of *Menon* the *Theſſalian*, a very brave Man, living at the time of the *Lamiac* War, and of higheſt Command in the Confederate Army next *Leoſthenes*. To *Æacides* were born of *Pthia* *Deidamîa* and *Troïas* Daughters, and *Pyrrhus* a Son. The *Moloſſians* afterwards falling into Factions, and throwing off *Æacides*, brought in the Sons of *Neoptolemus*, and ſuch Friends of *Æacides*, as they could take, were all cut off: *Pyrrhus* yet an Infant, and ſearch'd for by the Enemy, *Androclides* and

*Deſcen of* Pyrrhus.

and *Angelus* had ſtol'n away and fled; but being obliged to take with them a few Servants, and the Women that nurs'd the Child, it made their Eſcape more difficult and ſlow; ſo being overtaken they deliver'd the Infant to *Androclion*, *Hippias*, and *Neander*, faithful and able young Fellows, giving them in charge with all imaginable diligence to reach *Megara*, a Town of the *Macedons*; and themſelves partly by entreaty, and partly by force, ſtopt the courſe of the Purſuers till very late in the Evening; at laſt having hardly forc'd them back, they joyn'd thoſe who had the care of *Pyrrhus*: But the Sun being already ſet, and they near the utmoſt point now of their hopes, were on the ſudden defeated; for coming to the River that runs by the City, it look'd very dreadful and rough, and endeavouring to paſs over, they found it was not fordable; for ſome late Rains had ſwell'd the Water, and made it run very foul: The darkneſs of the Night added to the horrour of all, ſo that they durſt not adventure of themſelves to carry over the Child and the Women that attended it; but perceiving ſome of the Country People on t'other ſide, deſir'd they would aſſiſt their Paſſage, and ſhew'd them *Pyrrhus*, calling out aloud, and importuning them, but they could not hear

*Purſu'd by Enemies while an Infant, hardly eſcapes.*

for the noiſe and roarings of the Water: Thus time was ſpent while thoſe call'd out, and the others did not underſtand what was ſaid, 'till one recollecting himſelf pill'd off a piece of Bark from an Oak, and writ on it with the tongue of a Buckle, expreſſing the Neceſſities and the Fortunes of the Child, and then rolling it about a Stone, which was made uſe of to give force to the Motion, threw it over to the other ſide; ſome report they faſtned it to the end of a Javelin, and darted it over; when they on the other Shore read what was on the Bark, and conſidered the ſhortneſs of the time, inſtantly cutting down ſome Trees, and laſhing them together, came over to them; it fell out, he who firſt got a-ſhore, and took *Pyrrhus* in his Arms, was named *Achilles*, the reſt were help'd over by others as they came to hand: Thus being ſafe, and out of the reach of purſuit, they addreſt themſelves to *Glaucias* then King of *Illyria*, and finding him at the Court ſitting with the Queen, they laid down the Child before them; the King began to weigh this affair, fearing *Caſſander* a mortal Enemy of *Æacides*, and being in a deep conſideration, ſaid nothing for a long time; while *Pyrrhus* ſcrambling about, got hold with his hand on his Robe, and ſo helping himſelf upon his

his feet againſt the knees of *Glaucias*, firſt mov'd Laughter, and then Pity, as a little humble crying Petitioner. Some ſay he did not lie groveling before *Glaucias*, but catching hold of an Altar of the Gods, and ſpreading his hands about it, rais'd himſelf up by that, which Action to *Glaucias* ſeem'd to have in it ſomething of divine, and immediately gave *Pyrrhus* into the Queen's Arms, commanding he ſhould be brought up with his own Children; a little after the Enemies ſending to demand him, and *Caſſander* himſelf offering two hundred Talents, he would not deliver him up; but when he was twelve years old, bringing him with an Army into *Epirus*, made him King; *Pyrrhus* in the Air of his Face had ſomething more of Fierce, than of the Auguſt of Majeſty; he had not many Teeth, but all above was one continued Bone, divided with ſmall Lines, reſembling the ſpaces of a Row of Teeth; it was a general belief he could cure the Spleen by ſacrificing a white Cock, and with his right foot gently preſſing upon the Spleen of the Perſons laid down on their Backs a little to one ſide, nor was any ſo poor or inconſiderable as not to receive the benefit of his Royal Touch, if he deſired it; after the Sacrifice he accepted the Cock as

*Glaucias ſurpriz'd with anominous action of the Child, reſolves to protect him.*

*Inſtead of upper Teeth one Bone.*

*He touches for the Spleen.*

a Reward, and the Preſent was always moſt welcome to him; the Toe of that foot was ſaid to have a divine Virtue; for after his death, the reſt of the Body being conſum'd, this was found unhurt and untouch'd by the Fire; but of theſe things afterwards. Being now about Seventeen Years old, and the Government in appearance well ſetled, he took a Journey out of the Kingdom to the Marriage of one of *Glaucias*'s Sons, with whom he was brought up, at which time the *Moloſſians* again rebelling, turn'd out all of his Party, rifled his Exchequer, and gave up themſelves to *Neoptolemus*: *Pyrrhus* having thus loſt the Kingdom, and in want of all things, apply'd himſelf to *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus* that married his Siſter *Deidamia*, who while ſhe was but a little Miſs, they us'd to call *Alexander*'s Wife, Son of *Roxana*; but their Affairs after proving unfortunate, when ſhe came to Age, *Demetrius* married her. At the great Battel of *Ipſus*, where ſo many Kings were engag'd, *Pyrrhus* taking party with *Demetrius*, tho' yet but a Youth, routed thoſe that encountred him, and highly ſignaliz'd himſelf among all the Soldiery; after when *Demetrius*'s Fortunes were low, he did not forſake him then, but ſecur'd for him thoſe Cities of *Greece*, with which he was entruſted:

*An early Warrior.*

Upon

Upon Articles of Agreement made between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, he went over an Hoſtage into *Ægypt*, and both in Hunting, and other Exerciſes, gave *Ptolomy* a lively demonſtration of his Courage and Strength. Here obſerving *Berenice* in greateſt Power, and of all *Ptolomy*'s Wives, higheſt in Eſteem for Virtue and Underſtanding, he made his Court, and paid his Reſpects principally to her; for he had a particular Art of obliging the Great for his own Intereſt, and eaſily overlook'd ſuch as were below him: In Diet very elegant, but temperate; ſo that among all the young Princes then at Court, he was thought moſt fit to have *Antigone* for his Wife, one of the Daughters of *Berenice* by *Philip*, before ſhe marry'd *Ptolomy*. After this Match advancing in Honour, and *Antigone* being a very good Wife to him, having ſetled a Fond of Mony, and rais'd an Army; he ſo ordered matters to be ſent into his Kingdom of *Epirus*, and arriv'd there to the great ſatisfaction of many, from their hate to *Neoptolemus*, governing in a violent and arbitrary way. But fearing leſt *Neoptolemus* ſhould enter into Alliance with ſome Neighbour Princes, he came to Terms and Friendſhip with him in an equal ſhare of the Government: Some time after there were thoſe who ſecretly exaſpe-

*His Exerciſes.*

*Care of his Intereſt.*

*Temperance.*

rated them, and fomented Jealouſies of one another. The Cauſe chiefly moving *Pyrrhus*, is ſaid to have had this beginning. It was cuſtomary for the Kings in *Paraſſo*, a Province of *Moloſſia*, after Sacrifice to *Mars*, to enter into a ſolemn Covenant with the *Epirots*; they to Govern according to Law, theſe to preſerve the Government, as by Law eſtabliſh'd. This was performed in the Preſence of both Kings, who were there with their particular Favourites, giving and receiving many Preſents: Here *Gelon*, one faithful to *Neoptolemus*, taking *Pyrrhus* familiarly by the hand, preſented him with two pair of draught Oxen, theſe *Myrtilus* his Cup-bearer, being then by, begg'd of *Pyrrhus*, who not giving them to him, but another, *Myrtilus* extreamly reſented it, which *Gelon* took notice of, and inviting him to a Treat (where as ſome report he debauch'd him too after drinking, being in the Flower of his Youth) he enter'd into diſcourſe, perſwading him to adhere to *Neoptolemus*, and deſtroy *Pyrrhus* by Poiſon; *Myrtilus* receiv'd the Deſign, as praiſing and conſenting to it, but indeed privately diſcovered it to *Pyrrhus*, by whoſe Command he recommended *Alexicrates* his chief Cup-bearer to *Gelon*, as a fit Inſtrument for their Deſign, becauſe *Pyrrhus* was very deſirous

to

to have proof of the Plot by ſeveral Evidences; ſo *Gelon* being deceiv'd, *Neoptolemus*, who was as much deceiv'd by him, and imagining the Deſign went proſperouſly on, could not hold, but for Joy vented it among his Friends, and once at an Entertainment at his Siſter *Cadmia*'s ſpoke very frankly of it, thinking none heard but themſelves Nor was any there but *Phenaretate* the Wife of *Samon*, who had the care of managing *Neoptolemus*'s Flocks and Herds: She being turn'd towards the Wall upon a Pallet, ſeem'd faſt aſleep; but having heard all that paſt unſuſpected, next Day came to *Antigone*, *Pyrrhus*'s Wife, and told her what ſhe heard *Neoptolemus* ſay to his Siſter, which *Pyrrhus* underſtanding, for the preſent ſaid little, but on a Sacrifice day, making an Invitation for *Neoptolemus*, kill'd him; being ſatisfied before that the Great Men of the *Epirots* were his Friends, adviſing him to rid himſelf of *Neoptolemus*, and not love one who ſhar'd the leaſt point in the Government with him, but follow his own Inclination in undertaking his greater Deſigns, and a juſt ground of ſuſpicion already appearing, prevent *Neoptolemus* by taking him off firſt. In memory of *Berenice* and *Ptolomee*, he nam'd his Son by *Antigone*, *Ptolomee*, and having built a C[illegible] *Builds the City* [illegible]*nicis.*

ty in the *Peninſula* of *Epirus*, call'd it *Berenicis*. From this time he began to revolve many and vaſt things in his thoughts; but his firſt hope and deſign was particularly laid near home, and he found means to engage himſelf in the *Macedonian* Affairs under this Pretenſion. Of *Caſſander*'s Sons, *Antipater* the Eldeſt both kill'd *Theſſalonica* his Mother, and expuls'd his Brother *Alexander*, who ſent to *Demetrius* entreating his Aſſiſtance, and alſo call'd in *Pyrrhus*; but *Demetrius* being retarded by multitude of buſineſs, *Pyrrhus* coming firſt demanded in reward of his Service the City of *Nymphæa* and the Sea-Coaſts of *Macedon*, and of their new Conqueſts *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. The young Prince giving way, he took Poſſeſſion of theſe Countries, and ſecur'd them with good Garriſons, and kept for *Alexander* himſelf the other part of the Kingdom which he gain'd from *Antipater*. *Lyſimachus* deſigning to ſend aid to *Antipater* was involv'd in much other buſineſs, but knowing *Pyrrhus* would not diſoblige *Ptolomee*, or deny him any thing, ſent pretended Letters to him as from *Ptolomee*, deſiring him to give over that Expedition, upon the Payment of 300 Talents to him by *Antipater*: *Pyrrhus* opening the Letter quickly diſcover'd the fraud

Pyrrhus *deſigns mighty Things.*

fraud of *Lyſimachus*; for it had not the accuſtom'd Stile of Salutation, The Father to the Son health, but King *Ptolomee* to *Pyrrhus* the King health; and reproaching *Lyſimachus*, he notwithſtanding made a Peace, and they all met to confirm it by a Solemn Oath upon Sacrifice: A Goat, a Bull, and a Ram being brought out, the Ram on a ſudden fell dead, which although ſome only laugh'd at, *Theodotus* the Prieſt forbid *Pyrrhus* to ſwear, declaring Heaven by that portended the Death of one of the three Kings, upon which he refuſed to ratifie the Peace. The Affairs of *Alexander* being now in ſome kind of Settlement, *Demetrius* arriv'd, and 'twas evident he came undeſir'd, and ſtruck a Terrour into *Alexander*; after they had been a few days together, their mutual Jealouſie made them deſign upon each other; but *Demetrius* taking advantage of the firſt occaſion, was before-hand with the young King, and ſlew him, and proclaim'd himſelf King of *Macedon*. There had been formerly no very good underſtanding between him and *Pyrrhus*; for beſides the Inroads he made into *Theſſaly*, the innate Diſeaſe of Princes, Ambition of greater Empire, rendred their Neighbourhood formidable and ſuſpected, eſpecially ſince *Deidamia*'s Death; and both having ſeiz'd

*Jealouſies between* Pyrrhus *and his Brother in Law* Demetrius.

ſeiz'd *Macedon*, they came foul upon the ſame thing, and the difference between them had the fairer colours: *Demetrius* having entred into a War with the *Ætolians* and ſubdu'd them, and left *Pantanchus* there with a conſiderable Army, march'd directly againſt *Pyrrhus*, and *Pyrrhus* (as he thought) againſt him, but by miſtake of the ways they paſt by one another, *Demetrius* falling into *Epirus* waſted the Country, and *Pyrrhus* meeting with *Pantanchus* prepar'd for an Engagement. The Soldiers falling in pell-mell, there was a ſharp and great Fight, eſpecially where the Generals were. *Pantanchus* in courage, dexterity, and ſtrength of Body, being confeſſedly the beſt of all *Demetrius* his Captains, and having both Reſolution and Conduct, challeng'd *Pyrrhus* to fight hand to hand; on the other ſide *Pyrrhus*, not leſs than any of the Kings in Valour and Glory, and eſteeming the Honour of *Achilles* rather due to him for his Courage than his Blood, advanc'd againſt *Pantanchus* through the Front of the Army; Firſt, they us'd their Lances, then came to a cloſe Fight, and manag'd their Swords both with Art and Force, *Pyrrhus* receiving one wound, but returning two for it, one in the Thigh, the other near the Neck, repuls'd and overthrew *Pantanchus*, but did not kill him outright,

*Glories in his Deſcent from* Achilles.

*He fights ſingly with* Pantanchus.

outright, for he was ſuddenly reſcu'd by his Friends: The *Epirots* rais'd with the Victory of their King, and admiring his Courage, forc'd through and cut in pieces the cloſe Body of the *Macedonians*, and purſuing thoſe that fled, kill'd many, and took 5000 Priſoners. This Fight did not ſo much exaſperate the *Macedonians* with Anger for their Loſs, or with Hatred to *Pyrrhus*, as it caus'd an Eſteem and Admiration of his Virtue, and a great Diſcourſe among thoſe that ſaw what he did, and were engag'd againſt him in the Action: They thought his Countenance, and Swiftneſs, and Motion expreſt thoſe of the Great *Alexander*, and that in him they beheld Shadows, and Reſemblances of his Vivacity and Strength in Fight; other Kings in Purple and Guards, and a formal bending of their Necks, and ſpeaking in a lofty tone, only *Pyrrhus* in Arms and Action, repreſenting *Alexander*. Of his Knowledge in Military Order and Diſcipline, and his great Ability that way, we have the beſt information from the Commentaries he left behind him about this Argument: *Antigonus* being ask'd who was the greateſt Soldier, ſaid *Pyrrhus*, if he liv'd to be old, meaning thoſe only of his own time; *Hannibal* of great Commanders eſteem'd *Pyrrhus* for Sufficiency and Conduct the firſt, *Scipio*

*How* Pyrrhus *imitated* Alexander *the Great.*

*Writes Commentaries of Military Diſcipline*

Hannibal's *Judgment of* Pyrrhus.

*Scipio* the ſecond, and himſelf the third, as is reported in the Life of *Scipio*. In a word, he ſeem'd ever to make this all his Thought and Philoſophy, as the moſt Kingly part of Learning, other Curioſities he held in no Account. He is reported, when ask'd at a Feaſt whether he thought *Python* or *Caphiſias* the beſt Muſician, to have ſaid, *Polyſperchon* was the beſt Soldier, as becoming a King only to enquire and underſtand ſuch things. Towards his Familiars he was mild, and not eaſily incenſed, forward and ready in anſwering Kindneſſes; ſo that when *Æropus* was dead, he could not bear it with Moderation, ſaying, he indeed had ſuffer'd what was common to human Nature, but condemning and blaming himſelf, that by puttings off and delays he had not return'd his Kindneſs in time; for our Debts may be ſatisfy'd to the Creditor's Heirs, but the acknowledgement of receiv'd Favours not paid in, while they to whom it is due can be ſenſible of it, afflicts a good and a worthy Nature. Some thinking it fit that *Pyrrhus* ſhould baniſh a certain ill-tongu'd Fellow in *Ambracia*, who had ſpoke very indecently of him; Let him rather, ſaid he, ſpeak againſt me here to a few, than rambling about to a great many. And others who in their Wine had made Reflections upon him,

*What he held the only Philoſophy of Kings.*

him, being afterward queſtion'd for it, he ask'd them whether they ſpoke ſuch words; one of the young Fellows told him: Yes, Sir, thoſe very words, and ſhould have ſaid more if we had had more Wine; at which ſmiling he diſcharg'd them. After *Antigones* Death he married ſeveral Wives, to enlarge his Intereſt and Power. He had the Daughter of *Antoleon* King of *Pæonia*, *Barcenna*, *Bardyllis* the *Illyrian*'s Daughter, *Lanaſſa* Daughter of *Agathocles* the *Syracuſian*, who brought with her in Dower the City of *Cercyra* taken by *Agathocles*: By *Antigone* he had *Ptolomee*, *Alexander* by *Lanaſſa*, and *Helenus* the youngeſt by *Bercenna*; he brought them up all in Arms, hot and eager Youths, and by him ſharpned to War from their very Infancy. 'Tis ſaid when one of them, yet a Child, ask'd him to which he would leave his Kingdom, he reply'd, to him that had the ſharpeſt Sword, which was much like that Tragical Curſe of *Oedipus* to his Sons.

*His Marriages and Iſſue.*

*His Sons all bred to War.*

——— *Divide not as the Common Rout,*
*But with the Sword each cut his Portion out.*

So unſociable and brutal are the meaſures which Ambition takes. After this Battel *Pyrrhus* returning glorioufly home, entertain'd

tain'd himſelf with the ſenſe of his own Honour and Greatneſs of Mind, and being call'd Eagle by the *Epirots*: By you (ſays he) I am an Eagle; for how ſhould I not be ſuch while I am born up by your Arms as on Wings? A little after having Intelligence that *Demetrius* was dangerouſly ſick, he fell on a ſudden into *Macedon*, intending only an Incurſion, and to harraſs the Country; but was very near ſeizing upon all, and taking the Kingdom without a blow: He march'd as far as *Edeſſa* unreſiſted, great numbers deſerting, and coming in to him: This danger excited *Demetrius* beyond his Strength, and his Friends and Commanders in a ſhort time got a conſiderable Army together, and with all their Forces briskly attack'd *Pyrrhus*, who coming only to pillage would not ſtand a Fight, but retreating loſt part of his Army, as he went off, by the cloſe purſuit of the *Macedonians*. *Demetrius*, although he had eaſily and quickly forc'd *Pyrrhus* out of the Country, yet did not ſlight him, but having reſolv'd upon great Deſigns, and to recover his Father's Kingdom with an Army of 100000 Men, and 500 Sail of Ships, would neither embroyl himſelf with *Pyrrhus*, nor leave the *Macedonians* ſo active and troubleſome a Neighbour; and ſince he had

*How* Pyrrhus *accepts the Apellation of an Eagle.*

*Vaſt Preparation of* Demetrius.

had no leiſure to continue the War with him, was willing to treat and conclude a Peace, and to turn his Forces upon the other Kings: Articles being agreed upon, the Deſigns of *Demetrius* quickly diſcover'd themſelves by the greatneſs of his Preparation. And the other Kings being alarm'd, ſent to *Pyrrhus* Ambaſſadors and Letters, expreſſing their wonder that he loſing ſo fair an Occaſion, would rather ſtay till *Demetrius* was ready to fight, and being now able to chaſe him out of *Macedon*, involv'd in Deſigns and diſturb'd, would expect till he were at leiſure, and grown greater, and bring the War home to his own door, and fight for their Temples and Sepulchers in *Moloſſia*: Eſpecially having ſo lately by his means loſt *Cercyra* and his Wife together. For *Lanaſſa* had taken offence at *Pyrrhus* for too great an inclination to thoſe Wives of his that were *Barbarians*, and ſo withdrew to *Cercyra* and deſiring to marry ſome King, invited *Demetrius*, knowing of all the Kings, he was moſt ready to entertain an offer of Marriage from fair Ladies; ſo he ſail'd thither, marry'd *Lanaſſa*, and plac'd a Garriſon in the City. The Kings having writ thus to *Pyrrhus*, did themſelves likewiſe find *Demetrius* work, while he was delaying and making his Preparations, *Ptolo-*

*mee* ſetting out with a great Fleet, drew off many of the *Greek* Cities. *Lyſimachus* out of *Thrace* waſted the upper *Macedon*, *Pyrrhus* alſo taking Arms with theſe, march'd to *Beræa*, expecting (as it fell out) that *Demetrius* drawing his Forces againſt *Lyſimachus*, would leave the lower Country without Supplies. That very Night he ſeem'd in his Sleep to be call'd by *Alexander* the Great, and approaching ſaw him ſick a-bed, but was receiv'd with very kind Words and much Reſpect, and promis'd a ſudden Aſſiſtance: He making bold to reply; How, Sir, can you, being ſick, aſſiſt me? With my Name, ſays he; and mounting a *Niſæan* Horſe ſeem'd to lead the way: At the ſight of this Viſion he was much aſſur'd, and with ſwift Marches over-running all the interjacant places, takes *Beræa*, and making his Head-Quarters there, reduc'd the reſt of the Country by his Commanders: When *Demetrius* receiv'd Intelligence of this, and perceiv'd likewiſe the *Macedonians* ready to mutiny in the Army, he was afraid to advance farther, leſt coming near *Lyſimachus*, a *Macedonian* King, and of great Fame, they ſhould revolt to him. So returning, he march'd directly againſt *Pyrrhus*, as a Stranger, and hated by the *Macedonians*; while he lay Encamp'd there by him, many

ny coming but of *Berœa* infinitely prais'd *Pyrrhus* as one invincible in Arms, a very Illuſtrious Prince, and treating thoſe he had taken kindly and obligingly; ſeveral of theſe *Pyrrhus* himſelf ſent privately, pretending themſelves *Lacedemonians*, and ſaying, now was the time to be deliver'd from the ſevere Government of *Demetrius*, by coming over to *Pyrrhus*, a gracious Prince, and a Lover of Soldiers: By this Artifice a great part of the Army was mov'd, and looking every way about, ſought for *Pyrrhus*; It happen'd he was without his Helmet, till underſtanding they did not know him, he put it on again, and ſo was quickly remark'd by his lofty Creſt, and the Goat's Horns he wore upon it; Then the *Macedonians* running to him, deſir'd the Word, others clap'd Oaken-boughs upon their Heads, becauſe they ſaw them worn by the Soldiers about him. Some took the confidence to ſay to *Demetrius* himſelf, that he would be well advis'd to withdraw, and lay down the Government. And he indeed finding the mutinous humour of the Army agreeable to that ſort of Diſcourſe, privately got away diſguis'd in a old Hat, and a common red Coat. So *Pyrrhus* became Maſter of the Army without fighting, and was declar'd King of the *Macedonians*.

*The Army of* Demetrius *revolts to* Pyrrhus.

*Himſelf eſcapes with difficulty in a mean Diſguiſe.*

But *Lyſimachus* now arriving, and affirming the defeat of *Demetrius*, was in common perform'd by both, and that the Kingdom ought to be ſhar'd between them. *Pyrrhus* not extremely aſſur'd of the *Macedonians*, and in doubt of their Faith, conſented to the Propoſition of *Lyſimachus*, and divided the Country and Cities between them accordingly. This was for the preſent uſeful, and prevented a War; but ſhortly after they found the Partition not ſo much an avoidance of Diſſatisfactions, as an occaſion of more Complaint and Difference. For to ſuch whoſe Ambition neither Seas nor Mountains, nor the forſaken Deſarts can limit, nor the Bounds dividing *Europe* from *Aſia*, confine their vaſt Deſires; 'tis hard to ſay how they ſhould forbear injuring one another, when they touch, and are cloſe together. Theſe are ever naturally in War, envying and ſeeking advantages of one another; they make uſe of thoſe two Words, Peace and War, as of Mony, not ſo much guided by Juſtice, as when it falls out to be for their Intereſt, and are really better Men when they openly enter on a War, than when they give to the meer forbearance of doing Wrong, only for want of opportunity, the ſacred Names of Juſtice and Friendſhip. *Pyrrhus* was an Inſtance of this;

*Ambitious Princes ill Neighbours.*

this; for ſetting himſelf againſt the riſe of *Demetrius* again, and endeavouring to hinder the recovery of his Power, as it were from a kind of Sickneſs, aſſiſted the *Greeks*, and came to *Athens*, where having aſcended the *Acropolis*, and offer'd Sacrifice to the Goddeſs, and the ſame Day came down again, told the *Athenians* he was much pleas'd with their Kindneſs, and the Confidence they had of him; but if they were wiſe, adviſ'd them never to let any King come thither again, or open their City-Gates to him; he concluded alſo a Peace with *Demetrius*, but a little after he was gone into *Aſia*, at the Perſwaſion of *Lyſimachus*, tamper'd with the *Theſſalians* to revolt, and beſieged his Cities in *Greece*; finding he could make better uſe of the *Macedonians* in War than in Peace, and being of his own Inclination not much given to reſt; at laſt, having routed *Demetrius* in *Lycia*, *Lyſimachus*, who had ſecur'd his Affairs, and nothing to do, immediately turn'd his Forces upon *Pyrrhus*, who was in Quarters at *Edeſſa*, and falling upon and ſeiſing his Convoy of Proviſions, brought firſt a great Scarcity into the Army, then partly by Letters, partly by ſpreading Rumours abroad, he corrupted the principal Officers of the *Macedonians*, reproaching them they had

Pyrrhus *his Advice to the* Athenians.

made one their Maſter who was both a Stranger, and deſcended from thoſe who had ever been Servants to the *Macedonians*, and thruſt the old Friends and Familiars of *Alexander* out of the Country: The *Macedonian* Soldiers being much prevail'd upon, *Pyrrhus* withdrew himſelf with his *Epirots* and Auxiliary Forces, relinquiſhing *Macedon* juſt after the ſame manner he took it: Thus Kings have no reaſon to condemn the People changing for their Intereſt, who in that do but imitate them, as the great Inſtructors of Unfaithfulneſs and Treachery, holding him the braveſt that makes the leaſt Account of being an honeſt man. *Pyrrhus* having thus retir'd into *Epirus*, and left *Macedon*, Fortune gave him a fair occaſion of enjoying himſelf in quiet, and peaceably governing his own Subjects; but he who thought it a nauſeous Courſe of Life, not to be doing miſchief to others, or receiving ſome from them, as *Achilles* could not endure Repoſe,

*The* Macedonians *revolt from* Pyrrhus, *juſt as they had done before from* Demetrius.

Pyrrhus *uneaſie without War.*

——— *But languiſh'd there,*
*When left alone, deſiring Noiſe and War.*

Serv'd his Inclination of this pretence of new buſineſs. The *Romans* were in War with the *Tarentines*, who not able to go on

on with the War, nor yet give it over, by reaſon of the bold and ill adviſ'd Harangues of Popular Men, deſir'd to make *Pyrrhus* their General, and ingage him in this War, as of all the Neighbouring Kings the moſt at leiſure, and the greateſt Soldier. The more grave and diſcreet Citizens oppoſing theſe Councils, were run down by the noiſe and violence of the Multitude; which when they ſaw, they came no more into the Aſſemblies; only one *Meton* a very ſober Man, the Day this Publick Decree was to be ratify'd, and the People all plac'd; like one quite drunk, with a wither'd Garland and a Torch in his hand, and a Woman playing on a Flagellet before him, came dancing into the Aſſembly; and as in great Multitudes met at ſuch popular Aſſemblies, no *decorum* can be well obſerv'd; ſome clapt him up, others laught, none forbid him, but call'd to the Woman to play, and him to ſing to the Company, and when they thought they went about it; 'tis very well done of you (ſays he) *Tarentines*, not to hinder any from making themſelves merry that have a mind to it, while it is yet in your power, and if you are wiſe you will ſtill keep and enjoy this Freedom, for you muſt change your courſe of Life, and eat other Diet when *Pyrrhus* comes to Town.

*The occaſion of his War with the* Romans.

Theſe words made a ſtrange impreſſion upon many of the *Tarentine's*, and a confus'd Murmur went about, that he had ſpoke much to the Purpoſe; but ſome, who fear'd they ſhould be ſacrific'd if a Peace were made with the *Romans*, revil'd the whole Aſſembly for ſo tamely ſuffering themſelves to be abus'd by a lewd drunken Sot, and crowding together upon *Meton*, thruſt him out; ſo the Publick Order was paſs'd, and Ambaſſadors ſent into *Epirus*, not only in their own Names, but of all the *Italick Greeks*, carrying Preſents to *Pyrrhus*, and letting him know they wanted a General of Fame and Experience, that they could furniſh him with very great Forces made up of *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, amounting to 20000 Horſe, and 350000 Foot: This did not only quicken *Pyrrhus*, but rais'd an eager deſire of this War in the *Epirots*. There was one *Cineas* a *Theſſalian*, a Man in appearance of very good Senſe, a Diſciple of the great Orator *Demoſthenes*, and of all who were in the higheſt Fame at that time for ſpeaking well, ſeem'd as in a Picture, to revive moſt in the Minds of the Audience the Memory of his huge Force and Vigour of Eloquence, and being always about *Pyrrhus*, and by him employ'd to ſeveral Cities, confirm'd that of *Euripides*, —*That*

*——That force of weighty Words*
*Can out do all that's done by conquering Swords.*

And *Pyrrhus* was us'd to ſay, that *Cineas* had taken more Towns with his Words, than he with his Arms, and always did him the honour to uſe him in his moſt important Occaſions: This Perſon ſeeing *Pyrrhus* with all diligence preparing for *Italy*, entertain'd him one day at leiſure with this kind of diſcourſe: The *Romans*, Sir, are reported to be great Warriors, and Conquerors of many Warlike Nations; If God permit us to overcome them, how ſhould we uſe our Victory? Thou askeſt (ſaid *Pyrrhus*) a thing of it ſelf evident. The *Romans* once conquer'd, there is neither *Greek* or Barbarous City will reſiſt us, but we ſhall preſently be Maſters of all *Italy*, whoſe Greatneſs, and Force, and Strength it is more fit any ſhould be ignorant of, than your ſelf: *Cineas*, after a little pauſe, And having ſubdu'd *Italy*, what ſhall we do next? *Pyrrhus* not yet diſcovering his Intention; *Sicily*, reply'd he, next holds out her Arms to receive us, a fortunate and populous Iſland, and eaſie to be gain'd; for ſince *Agathocles* left it, Faction and Anarchy, and the licentious humour of the *Demagogues* only prevails; You

Pyrrhus *his great Eſteem of Eloquence.*

Cineas *repreſents to* Pyrrhus, *he had all that already, which he ſought by the labours and hazards of War.*

You ſpeak, ſays *Cineas*, what is hugely probable, but ſhall the Poſſeſſion of *Sicily* put an end to the War? God grant us (anſwer'd *Pyrrhus*) Victory and Succeſs in that, we will uſe theſe as Fore-runners of greater things; who can forbear *Lybia* and *Carthage* then within reach? which *Agathocles*, even when forc'd to fly from *Syracuſe*, and paſſing the Sea only with a few Ships, had almoſt ſurpriz'd. Theſe Conqueſts once perfected, will any deny, even that Enemy who now pretends to deſpiſe us, dare not make any further reſiſtance? None, reply'd *Cineas*, for then 'tis manifeſt we may with ſuch mighty Forces regain *Macedon*, and make an abſolute Conqueſt of *Greece*, and when all theſe are in our power, what ſhall we do then? Said *Pyrrhus* ſmiling, We'll live at our eaſe, my dear Friend, and drink all day, and divert our ſelves with pleaſant Diſcourſe. When *Cineas* had led *Pyrrhus* with his Argument to this point: And what hinders us now, Sir, if we have a mind to be merry, and entertain one another? Since all things neceſſary for it are at hand without trouble, to which through much blood and great labour, and infinite hazards, we deſign at laſt to arrive? With this talk he rather afflicted *Pyrrhus* under the conſideration of what Happineſs he loſt,

loſt, than any way alter'd his Purpoſe, being unable to quit the hopes of what he ſo much deſir'd. And firſt, he ſent away *Cineas* to the *Tarentines* with 3000 Men; preſently after, many Veſſels for tranſportation of Horſe, Galleys, and flat bottom'd Boats of all ſorts arriving from *Tarentum* he ſhip'd upon them 20 Elephants, 3000 Horſe, 20000 Foot, 2000 Archers, and 500 Slingers: All thus in readineſs he ſet Sail, and being half Seas over, was driving with the Winds blowing hard at Nore (contrary to the Seaſon of the Year) and forc'd to Leeward; but by the great Skill and Reſolution of his Officers and Seamen he bore with the Land, and kept the *Italian* Shore with infinite Labour, and beyond Expectation; the reſt of the Fleet could not get up, and ſome of the diſpers'd Ships being beaten off from the Coaſt of *Italy*, were driven into the *Lybian* and *Sicilian* Sea; others not able to double the Cape of *Japygium*, were overtaken by the Night, and a very boyſterous and grown Sea, throwing them upon a dangerous and rocky Shore, they were all very much diſabled, except the Admiral; and ſhe, while the Sea bore upon her Sides, reſiſted with her Bulk and Strength, and avoided the Force of it, 'till the Wind coming about, blew directly in their

Pyrrhus *his Fleet diſpers'd by Storm.*

their Teeth from the Shore, and the Veſſel keeping up with her Head againſt it, was in danger of opening by the raking of the Sea over her; on the other hand, to ſuffer themſelves to be driven off to Sea again, which was very raging and tempeſtuous, and the Wind ſhifting about every way, ſeem'd to them the moſt dreadful of all their preſent Evils. *Pyrrhus* riſing up, threw himſelf over-board, and his Friends and Guards ſtrove eagerly who ſhould be moſt ready to help him, but Night and the Sea with its mighty roaring and breaking off again from the Shore, made it extreme difficult to ſave him; ſo that hardly by day-light the Wind being quite laid, he got aſhore almoſt breathleſs, and indeed hugely weaken'd in Body, but with high Courage and ſtrength of Mind reſiſting his hard Fortune; the *Meſſapians*, upon whoſe Shore they were thrown by the Tempeſt, run with all diligence to help them in the beſt manner they could, and met with ſome of the ſtragling Veſſels that had eſcaped the Storm; in which were a very few Horſe, and not quite 2000 Foot, and two Elephants; with theſe *Pyrrhus* march'd ſtreight to *Tarentum*, and *Cineas* being inform'd of his Arrival, drew out his Forces to meet him; when he enter'd the Town, he

*Himſelf in great danger.*

he did nothing unpleaſing to the *Tarentines*, nor put any force upon them, till his Ships were all in Harbour, and the greateſt part of the Army got together; then conſidering the People, as neither able to preſerve themſelves nor ſecure others, unleſs they were neceſſitated to it, and intending, while he engaged for them in the Field, to remain at home bathing and feaſting themſelves; he firſt ſhut up the places of publick Exerciſe, and their Walks, where vainly ſolicitous, they fought for their Country only in diſcourſe of Wars; he prohibited likewiſe all Solemn Feſtivals, Revels and Jollities as unſeaſonable, and call'd them to Arms, being moſt ſevere and inflexible in liſting Men fit for Action and Service. Upon which many left the Town, unaccuſtom'd to ſuch a Diſcipline, calling it meer Slavery not to live in Pleaſures. He now receiv'd Intelligence that *Levinus* the *Roman* Conſul was upon his March with a great Army, and plundring *Lucania* as he went. The Confederate Forces were not come up to him, yet he thought it very indecent to ſuffer ſo near an Approach of an Enemy, and neglect it; and drew out with his Army, but firſt ſent an Herald to the *Romans* to know, if before the War, they would decide the Differences between them

*His ſevere Diſcipline unpleaſing to the* Tarentines.

them and the *Italicks* by a courſe of Juſtice, and make uſe of his Mediation to determine them: But *Levinus* returning Anſwer, that the *Romans* neither accepted him as Arbitrator, not fear'd him as an Enemy; *Pyrrhus* advanc'd, and encamp'd in the Plain between the Cities of *Pandoſia* and *Heracléa*, and having notice the *Romans* were near, and lay on the other ſide of the River *Lyris*, he rode up to take a view of them, and ſeeing the Order, the appointment of the Watches, the Excellent Form, and in a word, the whole Scheme of their Encampment, he was amaz'd, and calling one of his Friends next to him; This Order, ſays he, *Megacles*, of a barbarous Nation, is not at all barbarous, we ſhall ſee afterward what they can do; and growing a little more thoughtful of the Event, reſolv'd to expect the arriving of the Confederate Troops. And to hinder the *Romans* (if in the mean time they ſhould endeavour to paſs the River) he planted Men all along the Bank to oppoſe them, but they haſt'ning to prevent the coming up of thoſe Forces he look'd for, attempted the Paſſage with their Infantry, where it was fordable, the Horſe getting over in ſeveral places, ſo that the *Greeks* fearing to be ſurrounded, were oblig'd to retreat; which *Pyrrhus* underſtanding;

*Pyrrhus his Judgment of the Romans Encamping.*

ſtanding, was hugely ſurpriz'd, and commanded his Foot-Officers to range their Men in Battalia, and continue in Arms, himſelf with 3000 Horſe advanc'd, hoping to attack the *Romans* as they were coming over, ſcatter'd and diſorder'd; but when he ſaw a vaſt number of Shields appearing above the Water, and the Horſe following them in good order, drawing up his Men in a cloſer Body, himſelf in the Head of them began the Charge; he was very remarkable by the bravery and gliſtering of his Arms, which were exceeding rich, but more by the things he did there, which gave ſignal Proof that his Fame had not out-gone what he was able effectually to perform; but eſpecially when expoſing his Hands and Body to the Fight, he bravely repell'd all that engag'd him, managing the Battel with a ſteady and undiſturb'd Reaſon, and ſuch a Preſence of Mind, as if he had been quite out of any Action himſelf, flying from place to place, and aſſiſting thoſe whom he thought moſt preſs'd by the Enemy. Here *Leonatus*, a *Macedonian*, obſerving one of the *Italians* very intent upon *Pyrrhus*, riding up towards him, and changing places as he did, and moving as he mov'd: Do you ſee, Sir, ſaid he, that *Barbarian* on the black Horſe with white Feet? he ſeems to me one that

*His firſt Engagement with them.*

*His Courage without paſſion.*

that deſigns ſome great and dangerous thing, he looks conſtantly at you, attends on you only full of Fury and Violence, and takes no notice of others; Good Sir, have a care of that Fellow. *Leonatus*, ſaid *Pyrrhus*, it is impoſſible for any Man to avoid his Fate; but neither he nor any other *Italian* ſhall have much Satisfaction in engaging with me. While they were in this Diſcourſe, the *Italian* placing his Spear, and quickning his Horſe, rid furiouſly at *Pyrrhus*, and run his Horſe through with his Lance; at the ſame inſtant *Leonatus* ran his through; both Horſes falling, *Pyrrhus* his Friends ſurrounded him, and brought him off ſafe, and kill'd the *Italian*, bravely defending himſelf. He was by Birth a *Tarentine*, Captain of a Troop, and nam'd *Oplacus*. This made *Pyrrhus* uſe greater caution, and now ſeeing his Horſe give ground, he brought up the Infantry, and rang'd them in order, and then changing his Robe and his Arms with *Megacles*, one of his Friends, and obſcuring as it were himſelf in his, charg'd upon the *Romans*, who receiv'd and engag'd him, and a great while the Succeſs of the Battle remain'd undetermin'd; and 'tis ſaid, there were ſeven turns of Fortune both of purſuing and being purſu'd: This change of his Arms was very opportune for

for the Safety of his Perſon, but had like to have overthrown his Affairs, and loſt him the Victory; for ſeveral falling upon *Megacles*, the firſt that gave him his mortal Wound was one *Dexter*, who ſnatching away his Helmet and his Robe, rid preſently to *Levinus*, holding them up, and ſaying aloud he had kill'd *Pyrrhus*. Theſe Spoils being carried about, and ſhown among the particular Ranks, the *Romans* were tranſported with Joy, and gave a huge Shout, but mightily diſcouraged and terrified the *Greeks*. *Pyrrhus* underſtanding what had happen'd, rid about the Army with his Face bare, ſtretching out his Hand to his Soldiers, and telling them aloud it was He. At laſt the Elephants principally diſtreſs'd the *Romans*, their Horſes, before they came near, not enduring them, went back with their Riders; upon which he commanded the *Theſſalian* Cavalry to charge them in this Diſorder, and gave them a total Rout with great Effuſion of Blood. *Dionyſius* affirms near 15000 fell of the *Romans*. *Hieronymus*, no more than 7000. On *Pyrrhus* ſide, the ſame *Dionyſius* makes 13000 ſlain, the other under 3000; but they were the flower of his Men, as well of his particular Friends as Officers in whom he always moſt confided, and made uſe of in greateſt

*The Roman Army routed*

occaſions: Beſide, he poſſeſs'd himſelf of the *Romans* Camp which they deſerted, and drew off ſeveral Confederate Cities, and waſted the Country round about, and advanc'd ſo far, that he was within about 37 Miles of *Rome* it ſelf. After the Fight many of the *Lucanes* and *Samnites* came in and join'd him, he chid them for their Delay, and appear'd extreamly ſatisfy'd and rais'd in his Thoughts that he had defeated ſo great an Army of the *Romans* with the Aſſiſtance of the *Tarentines* alone. But the *Romans* did not remove *Levinus* from the Conſulſhip, it being reported *Caius Fabritius* ſhould ſay, that the *Epirots* had not overcome the *Romans*, but *Pyrrhus* had only the better of *Levinus:* (Inſinuating their Loſs was not through want of Valour, but Conduct;) but fill'd up their Legions, and liſted preſently freſh Men, talking high and boldly of War; which ſtruck *Pyrrhus* with Amazement. He thought it adviſable, by ſending firſt to make an Experiment, whether they had any Inclination to treat, thinking that to take the City and make an abſolute Conqueſt, was no work for ſuch an Army as his was at that time, but to ſettle a Friendſhip, and bring them to terms, would be highly honourable after his Victory. *Cineas* was diſpatch'd away, and apply'd himſelf

*They not at all diſcourag'd.*

himſelf to ſeveral of the Great Ones, with Preſents for themſelves and their Ladies from the King; but not a Perſon would receive any, and anſwer'd, as well Men as Women, that if an Agreement were publickly concluded, they ſhould be ready for their parts to expreſs all Reſpect and Service to the King; and *Cineas* diſcourſing with the Senate the moſt ſoft and obliging things in the World, yet was not heard with Kindneſs or Inclination, although *Pyrrhus* alſo offer'd to return all he had taken in the Fight without Ranſom, and promiſing his Aſſiſtance for the entire Conqueſt of all *Italy*, asking for himſelf only their Friendſhip, and Security for the *Tarentines*, and nothing farther: Many ſeem'd well inclin'd to a Peace, having already receiv'd one great Defeat, and fearing another from an additional Force of the *Italick Greeks* joining with *Pyrrhus*. Here *Appius Claudius*, a Man of great Honour, but who in reſpect of his Age and want of Sight, not intermedling with Affairs, declin'd the Fatigue of Publick Buſineſs: After theſe Propoſitions had been made by the King, hearing a Report that the Senate was ready to vote the Conditions of Peace, could not forbear, but commanding his Servants to take him up, was carried in his Chair through the

*They refuſe* Pyrrhus *his Preſents and Offers of Peace.*

*Forum* to the Senate-Houſe; when he was ſet down at the door, his Sons, and Sons-in-law took him up in their Arms, and going all cloſe round about him, brought him into the Senate: Out of reverence of ſo worthy a Man, the whole Aſſembly was reſpectfully ſilent, and he a little after riſing up himſelf; *I bore*, ſays he, *until this time the Misfortune of my Eyes with ſome Impatience, but now having heard of thoſe unhandſome Debates and Reſolves of yours, and ſo diſhonourable to the Glory of* Rome; *it is my great Affliction, that being already blind, I am not deaf too: Where is now that Diſcourſe of yours that has made ſuch a Noiſe in the World, that if* He *had come into* Italy, *the Great* Alexander, *and dar'd to attack us when we were young Men, or our Fathers, who were then flouriſhing, he had not now been celebrated Invincible, but either flying hence, or falling here, had left* Rome *more glorious? You demonſtrate now all that was but fooliſh Arrogance and Vanity, by your Fears of the* Moloſſians *and* Chaonians, *ever the* Macedonians *Prey, and trembling at* Pyrrhus, *who was himſelf but an humble Servant to one of* Alexander's *Life-guard; and here, not ſo much to aſſiſt the* Greeks *that inhabit among us, as flying from his Enemies at home, he ranges about* Italy,

Appius Claudius *his Speech againſt a Peace with* Pyrrhus.

Italy, *and dares promiſe you the Conqueſt of it all by that Army which has not been able to preſerve for him a little Part of* Macedon: *And do not perſuade your ſelves, that making him your Friend is the way to be rid of him, but to bring more Forces over, contemning you as eaſie to be reduced, if* Pyrrhus *goes off without doing you Reaſon for the Affront he has put upon you; nay, receiving alſo this Reward, of having render'd even the* Tarentines *and* Samnites *capable of laughing at the* Romans.

When *Appius* had done, every Man was eager for War, and *Cineas* diſmiſs'd with this Anſwer, That when *Pyrrhus* had drawn his Forces out of *Italy*, then if he pleas'd, they would treat with him about Friendſhip and Alliance, but while he ſtaid there in Arms, they were reſolv'd to proſecute the War againſt him with all their Force, though he ſhould have defeated 1000 *Levinus*'s. 'Tis ſaid, that *Cineas*, while he was managing this Affair, made it his Buſineſs, with an exact Care to inſpect the Manners of the *Romans*, and perfectly underſtand their Methods of Government. Afterwards in diſcourſe with the Grandees of the Court, he told *Pyrrhus*, among other things, the Senate ſeem'd to him an Aſſembly of Kings,

*The* Romans *reject all Overtures of Peace 'till* Pyrrhus *be firſt gone out of* Italy.

*The* Romans *Senate.*

Kings, and for the People he fear'd leſt they ſhould be thought to fight with the *Hydra*, or Serpent of *Lerna Fen*; for the Conſul had already rais'd twice as great an Army as the former, and there were a great many times over the ſame number of *Romans* able to bear Arms. Then *Caius Fabritius* came in Embaſſy from the *Romans*, to treat about the Priſoners that were taken, one whom *Cineas* had reported to be a Man of higheſt Conſideration among them for a right honeſt Man and a great Soldier, but extremely poor. *Pyrrhus* receiv'd him with much Kindneſs, and privately would have perſwaded him to accept of his Gold, not for any evil Purpoſe, but calling it an Argument of Reſpect and hoſpitable Civility; upon *Fabritius* Refuſal, he preſs'd him no farther, but the next Day, having a mind to diſcompoſe him, who had never ſeen an Elephant before, commanded one of the largeſt compleatly arm'd to be placed behind the Hangings, as they were talking together, which being done, upon a Sign given, the Hanging was drawn aſide, and the Elephant raiſing his Trunk over the Head of *Fabritius*, made an horrid and ugly Noiſe: He gently turning about and ſmiling, ſaid to *Pyrrhus*, *Neither your Mony Yeſterday, nor this Beaſt to Day, make*

Caius Fabritius

*Contemns Riches tho' extreamly poor.*

*make any Impreſſion upon me.* At Supper, amongſt all ſorts of things that were diſcours'd, but more particularly of *Greece*, and of the Philoſophy there, *Cineas* by accident had occaſion to ſpeak of *Epicurus*, and explained what they held about the Gods and the Common-wealth, placing the chief Happineſs of Man in Pleaſure, and declining Publick Affairs as an Injury and Diſturbance of an happy Life; removing the Gods afar off both from Kindneſs or Anger, or any Concern for us at all, to a Life wholly without Buſineſs and flowing in Pleaſures. Before he had done ſpeaking, *Fabritius* cry'd out, *O* Hercules! ſaid he to *Pyrrhus*, *may* Pyrrhus *and the* Samnites *entertain themſelves with this ſort of Opinions as long as they are in War with us.* *Pyrrhus* admiring the Wiſdom and Gravity of the Man, was the more tranſported with Deſire of making Friendſhip inſtead of War with the City, and apart intreated him, after the Peace ſhould be concluded, to accept of living with him as his Chief Miniſter of State, and *Generaliſſimo* of his Armies. *Fabritius* told him ſoftly, *Sir, this will not be for your Advantage, for they who now honour and admire you, when they have had Experience of me, will rather chuſe to be govern'd by me, than by you.* So great

*Much admir'd by* Pyrrhus.

great a Man was *Fabritius*. *Pyrrhus* heard him ſay this unmov'd, and without any Tyrannick Paſſion, nay among his Friends highly commended the great Mind of *Fabritius*. And entruſted the Priſoners to him alone, on Condition, that if the Senate ſhould not vote a Peace, after they had convers'd with their Friends, and celebrated the Feſtivals of *Saturn*, they ſhould be remanded, and accordingly they were ſent back after the Holy-days; It being decreed pain of Death for any that ſtay'd behind. After this *Fabritius* taking the Conſulate, a Perſon came with a Letter to the Camp, writ by the King's principal Phyſician, offering to take off *Pyrrhus* by Poyſon, and ſo end the War without farther Hazard to the *Romans*, if he might have a Reward proportionable to his Service. *Fabritius* enrag'd at the Villany of the Man, and diſpoſing the other Conſul to the ſame Opinion, ſent Diſpatches immediately to *Pyrrhus*, to caution him againſt the Treaſon; his Letter was to this effect. Caius Fabritius *and* Quintus Æmilius, *Conſuls of the* Romans, *to* Pyrrhus *the King, Health. You ſeem to have made a very ill Judgment, both of your Friends and Enemies; you will underſtand by reading this Letter ſent us, That you are in War with honeſt Men, and truſt Villains and Knaves;*

*Diſcovers to* Pyrrhus *a Deſign to poiſon him.*

*Knaves; we have not diſcovered this to you to inſinuate into your Favour, but leſt your Ruin might bring a Reproach upon us, as if we had ended the War by Treachery, as not able to do it by Force:* When *Pyrrhus* had read the Letter, and made ſtrict Enquiry into the Treaſon, he Executed the Phyſician, and for Acknowledgment of this Civility of the *Romans*, ſent to *Rome* the Priſoners without Ranſom, and again imploy'd *Cineas* to negotiate a Peace for him: But whether they believ'd it too great a Kindneſs from an Enemy, or too great a Reward of not doing an ill thing to accept their Priſoners ſo; releaſed to them as many of the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*: But would admit of no Debate of Alliance or Peace till he had removed his Arms and Forces out of *Italy*, and ſail'd back to *Epirus* in the ſame Ships that brought him over: After, his Affairs bringing on a ſecond Fight, when he had refreſh'd his Men, he decamp'd, and meeting the *Romans* about the City *Aſculum*, being incommoded by a woody Country, unfit for his Horſe, and a very ſwift Current of the River, that the Elephants, for want of ſure treading, could not get up with the Infantry; after many wounded and many killed, the Night put an end to the Engagement: Next Day deſigning to make the Fight on even Ground, and

*A ſecond Engagement with the* Romans.

and have the Elephants among the thickeſt of the Enemy, he caus'd a Detachment to poſſeſs themſelves of thoſe incommodious Grounds, and mixing Slingers and Archers among the Elephants, with great Courage and Fury he advanc'd in a cloſe and well-order'd Body; and the *Romans* not having thoſe Advantages of retreating and falling on as they pleas'd, which they had before, were oblig'd to fight Man to Man upon plain Ground, and haſtning to diſorder the main Battel before the Elephants could get up, they made bloody work with their Swords among the *Macedonian* Spears, not ſparing themſelves in the leaſt, to wound and kill was all their thought, without regard of what they ſuffer'd: After a long and obſtinate Fight, the firſt giving ground is reported to have been where *Pyrrhus* himſelf engag'd with extraordinary Courage; but they were moſt put to it by the mighty Force of the Elephants, the *Romans* not being able to make uſe of their Valours, but as it were overthrown by the Irruption of a Sea or an Earthquake, thinking it better to give way than die without doing any thing, and not gain the leaſt advantage by ſuffering the utmoſt Extremity; the Retreat to their Camp not being far. *Hieronymus* ſays, there dyed Six Thouſand of the

the *Romans*, of *Pyrrhus* his Men, the King's own Commentaries report 3550 loſt in this Action. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſe* neither gives an Account of two Engagements at *Aſculum*, nor allows the *Romans* were certainly beaten, and that once only after they had fought 'till Sunſet, both Armies were unwillingly ſeparated by the Night, *Pyrrhus* being wounded by a Javelin in the Arm, and his Baggage plunder'd by the *Samnites*; that in all there dy'd of *Pyrrhus* his Men and the *Romans* above 15000, and then both retreated. 'Tis ſaid, *Pyrrhus* reply'd to a Gentleman that gave him the Joy of his Victory; That ſuch another would utterly undo him; for he had loſt a great part of the Forces he brought with him, and almoſt all his particular Friends and principal Commanders: There were no others there to make Recruits, and he ſaw the Confederates very ſlow in their Motion. On the other hand, as from a Fountain continually flowing out of the City, the *Roman* Camp was quickly and plentifully filled up with freſh Men, not at all abating in Courage for the Loſſes they ſuſtain'd, but even from their very Anger gain'd new Force and Reſolution to go on with the War. Among theſe difficulties he fell again into vain Hopes, and Buſineſſes that hugely

*Pyrrhus's Reply to one that gave him Joy of his Victory.*

hugely diſtracted his Mind; for at the ſame time ſome Perſons arrived from *Sicily*, offering into his hands the Cities of *Agrigentum* and *Syracuſe*, and that of the *Leontines*, and begging his Aſſiſtance to expulſe the *Carthaginians*, and rid the Iſland of Tyrants; Others brought him News out of *Greece*, that *Ptolome* call'd *Ceraunus*, was ſlain in a Fight, and his Army cut in pieces by the *Gauls*, and that if he came now in time, the *Macedonians* were at a great loſs for a King. Here he began extreamly to accuſe Fortune for bringing him ſo many occaſions of great things altogether at a time, and conſidering that by graſping at both, he ſhould loſe one of them, was a long time balancing in his thoughts: But the Affairs of *Sicily* ſeeming to promiſe him matter of the greater buſineſs, *Affrica* lying ſo near, he turn'd himſelf to them, and preſently diſpatch'd away *Cineas* (as he uſed to do) to make Terms before-hand with the Cities. Then he plac'd a Garriſon in *Tarentum*, infinitely againſt their Wills, and requiring him either to perform what he came for, and continue with them in a War againſt the *Romans*, or leave the City as he found it: He return'd no pleaſing Anſwer, but commanded them to be quiet and attend his time, and ſo ſail'd away.

*Pyrrhus goes into Sicily.*

Being

Being arriv'd in *Sicily*, what he had deſign'd in his hopes, was confirm'd effectually, and the Cities frankly ſurrendred to him. Where-ever his Arms and Force were neceſſary, nothing at firſt made any conſiderable reſiſtance, for arriving with 30000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe, and 200 Ships, he totally routed the *Phænicians*, and overturn'd their whole Government; *Eryx* being the ſtrongeſt Town they held, and having a great Garriſon in it, he reſolv'd to take it by Storm: The Army being in readineſs to give the Aſſault, he put on his Arms, and coming into the head of his Men, made a Vow of Plays and Sacrifices to *Hercules* in Honour, if he ſignaliz'd himſelf in that day's Action before the *Greeks* that dwelt in *Sicily*, as became his great Deſcent and his Fortunes. The Sign being given by ſound of Trumpet, he diſſipated firſt the *Barbarians* with his Shot, and then brought his Ladders to the Wall, and was the firſt that mounted upon it himſelf, and the Enemy appearing in great Numbers, he beat them back, ſome he threw down from the Walls on each ſide, others he laid dead in a heap round about him with his Sword, nor did he receive the leaſt Wound, but ſeem'd very terrible in his Aſpect to the Enemy; and gave a clear Demonſtration that *Homer*

*The mighty perſonal Valour of* Pyrrhus.

was

was in the right, and pronounc'd according to the truth of Fact; that Fortitude alone of all the Virtues is often inſpir'd with Furious and Enthuſiaſtick Tranſports. The City being taken, he offer'd to *Hercules* moſt magnificently, and exhibited all Varieties of Shows and Plays. A ſort of Barbarous People about *Meſena*, called *Mamertines*, gave much Trouble to the *Greeks*, and put ſeveral of them under Contribution. Theſe being numerous and valiant (from whence they had their Name, as much as to ſay, *Martial* in the *Latine* Tongue) he firſt intercepted the Collectors of the Contribution-Mony, and cut them off, then beat them in open Fight, and deſtroy'd many of their Places of Strength. The *Carthaginians* being now inclin'd to Compoſition, and offering him a round Sum of Mony, and to furniſh him with Shipping, if a Peace were concluded, he told them plainly (aſpiring ſtill to greater things) there was one way for a Friendſhip and right Underſtanding between them, if they wholly abandoning *Sicily*, would conſent the *African* Sea ſhould be the Limit between them and the *Greeks*. And being heightned with his good Fortune, and the Strength of his Forces, and purſuing thoſe hopes, in proſpect of which he firſt ſail'd thither,

*The* Mamertines.

thither, his chief Aim was at *Affrick*: He had abundance of Shipping, but very ill Equipp'd, and when he began to preſs Seamen, not carrying himſelf fairly and obligingly towards the Cities, but forcing them in an haughty and inſolent way, and menacing them with Puniſhments; whereas at firſt he was not ſo, but more winning than any other, by a ſweet manner of Converſe, ready to believe, and uneaſie to none; now of a Popular Prince, becoming a Tyrant by this ſevere Proceeding, he got the Name of an ungrateful and a faithleſs Man. However they gave way to theſe things as neceſſary, although they took them very ill from him; and eſpecially when he entertain'd a Suſpicion of *Thion* and *Soſtratus*, Men of the firſt Quality in *Syracuſe*, who invited him over into *Sicily*, and when he was come, put the Cities into his Power, and were moſt inſtrumental in all he had done there ſince his Arrival, and would neither ſuffer them to be about his Perſon, nor leave them at home. *Soſtratus* out of fear withdrew himſelf, then he charg'd *Thion* as in a Conſpiracy with t'other, and put him to Death; and now the Scene of his Affairs was chang'd, not by little and little, nor yet all at once, but a mortal Hatred being rais'd in the Cities againſt him, ſome fell off to the *Carthaginians*,

Pyrrhus *diſobliges the* Sicilians.

*They Revolt from him.*

*thaginians*, others call'd in the *Mamertines*, and ſeeing Revolts in all Places, and deſires of Alteration, and a Potent Faction againſt him, he receiv'd Letters from the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, who were beaten quite out of the Field, and ſcarce left able to ſecure their Towns againſt the War, earneſtly begging his Help: This ſerv'd as a Colour to make his relinquiſhing *Sicily*, no Flight, nor a Deſpair of good Succeſs, but in truth, not being able to keep it, which was as a Ship labouring in a Storm, and willing to be out of her, he ſuddenly threw himſelf over into *Italy*. 'Tis reported that at his going off, he look'd back upon the Iſland, and ſaid to thoſe about him, *How brave a Field of War do we leave, my Maſters, for the* Romans *and* Cathaginians *to fight in*; which as he then conjectur'd fell out indeed not long after. When he was juſt ready to Sail, the *Barbarians* having conſpir'd together, he was forc'd to Fight with the *Carthaginians* in the very Road, and loſt many of his Ships, with the reſt he fled into *Italy*: There were about One thouſand *Mamertines* had croſs'd the Sea a little before, but afraid to engage him in open Field, only ſetting upon him where the Paſſages were difficult, put the whole Army in Confuſion, two Elephants fell, and a great part of his Rear

*He is called over again into* Italy.

*His prophetick Farewel to* Sicily.

Rear was cut off; he therefore coming up in Perſon, repuls'd the Enemy, but was hugely in danger, among Men train'd long in War and enrag'd: He being wounded in the Head with a Sword, and retiring a little out of the Fight, had heightned the Enemy, one of which, advancing a good way before the reſt, large of Body, and in bright Armour, with an haughty Voice challeng'd him to come forth, if he were alive: *Pyrrhus* in a great Rage, violently turn'd himſelf among his Guards towards him, and ſtorming and beſmear'd with Blood, he was terrible to look upon, and breaking through his own Men, got afore and ſtroke the *Barbarian* on the Head with his Sword ſuch a blow, as with the ſtrength of his Arm, and the excellent temper of the Weapon, paſs'd downward ſo far, that in a moment his Body being cut aſunder, fell in two pieces; this ſtop'd the courſe of the *Barbarians*, amaz'd and confounded at *Pyrrhus*, as one more than Man: So that continuing his March all the reſt of the way undiſturb'd, he arriv'd at *Tarentum* with 20000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe; where reinforcing himſelf with the choiceſt Troops of the *Tarentines*, he advanc'd immediately againſt the *Romans*, who then lay encamp'd in the Territories of the *Samnites*, whoſe Affairs were ex-

tremely ſhatter'd, and their Councils broken, having been in many Fights beaten by the *Romans*. There was alſo a diſcontent among them at *Pyrrhus*, for his Expedition into *Sicily*, ſo that not many came in to join him: But he divided his Army in two Parts, and commanded the firſt into *Leucania*, to oppoſe one of the Conſuls there, that he ſhould not come in to aſſiſt the other; the reſt he led againſt *Manius Curius*, who had poſted himſelf very advantageouſly near *Beneventum*, and expected the other Conſul's Forces, and partly becauſe the Prieſts had frighted him with ominous Birds and Sacrifices, he reſolv'd to remain there. *Pyrrhus* haſt'ning to attack theſe before the other could arrive, with his beſt Men, and the moſt couragious Elephants, march'd in the Night toward their Camp, but being forc'd to go round about, and through a very woody Country, their Flambeaus fail'd them, and their Soldiers loſt their way; a Council of War being call'd, while they were in debate, the Night was ſpent, and at the break of Day his Approach was diſcover'd by the Enemy as they came down the Hills, which put the whole Camp into much Diſorder and Tumult, but the Sacrifices being auſpicious, and the time abſolutely obliging them to fight, he drew out of the Trenches,

Trenches, and fell in with their Vant-guard, and having routed them, all the Army was in a Conſternation, ſo that a great many were cut off, and ſome of the Elephants taken. This Succeſs drew on *Manius* fighting into the Field, and in plain Ground, he totally defeated one Wing of the Enemy; on the other hand, being oppreſs'd by the Elephants, and forced back to his Trenches, he commanded out thoſe who were left to guard them, ſtanding thick on the Ramparts, all in Arms, and freſh Men; theſe coming down from the Fort, and charging the Elephants, forc'd them to retire, and in the Flight turning back upon their own Men, caus'd a huge Diſorder and Confuſion, which at once brought the *Romans* both Victory and Empire; for now having got the Fame of Invincible, both for their Conduct, and Courage, and Glory, as well in this Action as in a great many others, they ſoon over-run *Italy*, and not long after *Sicily* too. Thus fell *Pyrrhus* from his *Italian* and *Sicilian* hopes, after he had conſum'd ſix Years in theſe Wars, and though unſucceſsful in his Affairs, yet preſerv'd his Courage unconquerable among all theſe Misfortunes, and was held for Military Experience, and Perſonal Valour, and Undertaking much the braveſt of all the

*A third Fight with the* Romans.

*The* Romans *now at once gain both Victory and Empire.*

Phyrrhus *held the beſt Soldier of all Princes of his Time.*

Princes of his time, but what he got by great Actions, he loſt again by vain Hopes, and by new Deſires of what he had not, kept nothing of what he had: So that *Antigonus* uſed to compare him to one who at Dice threw excellently well, but knew not how to make the beſt of his Game: He return'd into *Epirus* with eight thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe, and for want of Mony to pay them, was fain to look out for a new War to maintain the Army. Some of the *Gauls* joining him, he fell into *Macedon*, where *Antigonus*, Son of *Demetrius*, govern'd, deſigning to plunder and waſte the Country, but after he made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Towns, and two thouſand Men came over to him, he began to hope for ſomething greater, and adventur'd upon *Antigonus* himſelf, and meeting him at a narrow Paſſage, call'd the *Straits*, put the whole Army in diſorder, but the *Gauls* who brought up *Antigonus* his Rear, were very numerous and ſtood firm, and a briſk Fight happening, the greateſt part of them were cut off. They who had the charge of the Elephants, being ſurrounded every way, delivered up both themſelves and the Beaſts: *Pyrrhus* taking this Advantage, and adviſing more with his good Fortune than his Reaſon, boldly ſet upon the main Body of the

*Antigonus his Character of him.*

*Returns home out of* Italy.

*His freſh Succeſſes there.*

the *Macedonian* Foot, already ſurpriz'd with Fear, and troubled at the former Loſs, ſo that they declin'd any Action or Engagement with him, and he holding out his Hand, and calling aloud, both to the Superior and under-Officers by Name, brought over the Foot from *Antigonus*; who flying privately, kept only ſome of the Sea-Towns. *Pyrrhus*, among all theſe Kindneſſes of Fortune, thinking what he had effected againſt the *Gauls* the moſt advantagious for his Glory, hung up their richeſt and goodlieſt Spoils in the Temple of *Minerva Itónis*, with this Inſcription, *Conquers Antigonus.*

*Theſe Shields of the brave* Gauls, *Great Goddeſs! I*
*Offer to thee; gain'd in full Victory*
*Over* Antigonus. *'Tis no ſtrange thing*
*For* Pyrrhus, *who from* Æacus *does ſpring.*

After this defeat in the Field, he quickly took in the Cities, and having *Ægis* in his Power, beſide other Hardſhips put upon them, he left in the Town a Garriſon of *Gauls*, ſome of thoſe in his own Army, who being inſatiably deſirous of Wealth, inſtantly dug up the Tombs of the Kings that lay buried there, and took away the Riches, and inſolently ſcatter'd about their Bones. *Pyrrhus* in appearance made no

great matter of it, either deferring it by reaſon of other extraordinary Buſineſs, or wholly paſſing it by, out of a fear of puniſhing thoſe *Barbarians*; but this made him hear very ill among the *Macedonians*, and his Affairs being yet unſetled, and brought to no firm Conſiſtence, he notwithſtanding entertained new viſionary Hopes, and in raillery call'd *Antigonus* Impudent, that he had not put on a mean Habit, but ſtill wore Purple: *Cleonymus* the *Spartan* arriving and inviting him to *Lacedæmon*, he frankly embrac'd the Oververture: *Cleonymus* was of Royal Deſcent, but ſeeming too Arbitrary and Abſolute, had no great Reſpect nor Credit at Home: And *Areus* was King there. This was the occaſion of an old and publick Grudge between him and the Citizens; but beſide that, *Cleonymus* in his old Age had married a young Lady of great Beauty and Royal Blood, *Chelidonis* Daughter of *Lectychides*, who falling deſperately in Love with *Acrotatus*, *Areus* his Son, a Youth gay and airy, render'd this Match both uneaſie and diſhonourable to *Cleonymus*; for there was none of the *Spartans* who did not very well know how much his Wife ſlighted him; ſo theſe Domeſtick Troubles added to his Publick Diſcontent. He brought *Pyrrhus* to *Sparta* with an Army of 20000 Foot,

Pyrrhus *invited againſt* Sparta.

Foot, 2000 Horſe, and 24 Elephants, but ſo great a Preparation made it evident to the whole World, that he came not ſo much to gain *Sparta* for *Cleonymus*, as to take all *Peloponeſus* for himſelf; yet he expreſly denied this to the *Lacedemonian* Ambaſſadors, that came to him to *Megalopolis*, affirming he came to deliver the Cities from the Slavery of *Antigonus*, and vowing to ſend his younger Sons to *Sparta* (if he might) to be inform'd with *Spartan* Education, that ſo they might be better bred than all other Kings. With theſe Pretenſions amuſing thoſe who came to meet him in his March, as ſoon as ever he entred *Laconia*, he began to plunder and waſte the Country, of which the Ambaſſadors complaining, that he began the War upon them before it was proclaimed. *We know* (ſaid he) *very well, that neither you* Spartans, *when you deſign any thing, uſe to talk of it before-hand.* One *Mandracidas*, then preſent, told him in the broad *Spartan* Dialect; *An yau be a God do us no harm, for wee'ſe harm none; an if yau be a Mon, ther'ſe be ſome auther as ſtout as yau.* He now march'd away directly for *Lacedemon*, and being adviſed by *Cleonymus* to give the Aſſault as ſoon as he arrived, *Pyrrhus* (as 'tis ſaid) fearing leſt the Soldiers entring by Night, ſhould plun-

*Here Plutarch himſelf changes his Style into the broad* Doric.

der the City, anſwer'd, they might do it as well next Morning, becauſe there were but few Soldiers in Town, and unprovided by reaſon of his ſudden approach, for *Areus* was not there in Perſon, but gone to aid the *Gortynians* then in War; and it was this alone that ſaved the Town, becauſe in regard of the ſmall Number of Soldiers, and the ſcarcity of Proviſions, he deſpiſed it as not tenable, and ſo imagining no Defence would be made, ſat down before it that Night; *Cleonymus*'s Friends, and the *Heilots*, his Domeſtick Servants, had made great Preparation at his Houſe, as expecting *Pyrrhus* there at Supper. In the Night, the *Lacedemonians* held a Conſult, to Ship over all the Women into *Crete*, but they unanimouſly refuſed, and *Archidamia* came into the Senate, with a Sword in her Hand, in the Name of them all, repreſenting how unkindly they took it, to think they would ſurvive the Ruins of *Sparta*. It was next reſolved to draw a Trench in a Line directly over againſt the Enemies Camp, and at each end of it to ſink Waggons in the Ground, as deep as the Naves of the Wheels, that ſo being firmly fix'd, they might obſtruct the Paſſage of the Elephants. When they had juſt begun the Work, both Maids and Women came to them, thoſe had their Clothes truſt up about

*Pyrrhus too ſecure of ſucceſs, loſes the opportunity of taking Sparta.*

*The great Reſolution of the Spartan Ladies.*

bout their Linnen, and others in their Shifts only, to aſſiſt the elder ſort of Men; As for the Youth that were next Day to engage, they left them to their Reſt, and undertaking their proportion, they themſelves finiſh'd a third part of the Trench, which was in breadth ſix Cubits, four in depth, and eight hundred Foot long, as *Phylarchus* ſays, *Hieronymus* makes it ſomewhat leſs. The Enemy beginning to move by break of day, they brought their Arms to the young Men, and giving them alſo in charge the Trench, exhorting them to defend and keep it bravely, as a moſt worthy thing to conquer in the view of their whole Country, and glorious to die in the Arms of their Mothers and Wives, falling as became *Spartans*. As for *Chelidonis*, ſhe retired with a Halter about her Neck, reſolving to die ſo, rather than fall into the Hands of *Cleonymus*, if the City were taken. *Pyrrhus* himſelf in Perſon labour'd with his Foot to force through the Shields of the *Spartans* ranged againſt him, and to get over the Trench, which was ſcarce paſſable, becauſe the looſeneſs of the freſh Earth afforded no firm footing for the Soldiers. *Ptolomee*, *Pyrrhus*'s Son, with two thouſand *Gauls*, and ſome choice Men of the *Chaonians*, went about the Trench, and endeavour'd to get over where the Waggons were,

were, but they being ſo deep in the Ground, and placed cloſe together, did not only make his Paſſage, but alſo the Defence of the *Lacedemonians* very troubleſome; yet now the *Gauls* had got the Wheels out of the Ground, and were drawing off the Waggons toward the River, when young *Acrotatus* ſeeing the danger they were in, paſſing through the Town with 300 Men, ſurrounded *Ptolomee* undiſcerned, taking the advantage of ſome hollow Ways, 'till he fell upon his Rear, and forced them to wheel about, thruſting one another into the Ditch, and falling among the Waggons, and at laſt they with much ado were cut off with a very great Slaughter; the elderly Men, and all the Ladies ſaw this brave Action of *Acrotatus*, and when he returned back into the Town to his firſt Poſt all covered with Blood, and fierce and elate with Victory, he ſeem'd to the *Spartan* Dames more Gallant and Beautiful than ever, and they envied *Chelidonis* ſo worthy a Lover. And ſome of the old Men followed him, crying aloud, *Go on* Acrotatus, *enjoy* Chelidonis, *and get brave Fellows for* Sparta. Where *Pyrrhus* himſelf fought was the hotteſt of the Action, and many of the *Spartans* did gallantly, but in particular one *Phyllius* ſignaliz'd himſelf, and killed moſt of thoſe that preſſed upon him,

him, and when he found himſelf ready to ſink with the many Wounds he had received, retiring a little out of his place behind another, fell down among their own Men, that the Enemy might not carry off his Body. The Fight ended with the Day, and *Pyrrhus* in his Sleep dream'd he threw Lightning upon *Lacedemon*, and ſet it all on fire, and ſeemed to rejoice at the Sight, and in this Tranſport of Joy waking, commanded his Officers to get all things ready for a ſecond Aſſault; and interpreting his Dream among his Friends, that he ſhould take the Town by Storm, ſeveral aſſented to it with Admiration; but *Lyſimachus* was not pleaſed with the Dream, and told him he feared, leſt as Places ſtruck with Lightning are held Sacred, and not to be entred, ſo the Gods might by this let him know the City ſhould not be taken. *Pyrrhus* replied, *All theſe things were but idle Talk, full of Uncertainty, and only fit to amuſe the Vulgar; but you, my brave Men, with your Swords in your Hands, ſhould always think of that Verſe of* Homer.

*'Tis the only good Preſage,*
*That for* Pyrrhus *you engage.*

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

Changing the laſt Word of his Verſe, and ſurpriſing

ſurpriſing them in raillery, with putting in the Word Πύῤῥᾳ for πάτερες, he got up, and drew out his Army to the Walls by break of Day; the *Lacedemonians* in Reſolution and Courage, made a Defence even beyond their Power, the Women were all by, helping them to Arms, and bringing Bread and Drink to thoſe that deſired it, and taking care of the wounded: The *Macedonians* attempted to fill up the Trench, bringing huge quantities of Materials, and throwing them upon the Arms and dead Bodies that lay there all covered over; while the *Lacedemonians* oppoſed this with all their Force, *Pyrrhus* in Perſon appeared on their ſide of the Trench and the Waggons, preſſing on Horſeback towards the City, at which the Soldiers who had that Poſt, making a great noiſe, and the Women ſhrieking and running about, while *Pyrrhus* violently puſhed on, and in Perſon beating down all that diſputed his way, his Horſe received a ſhot in the Belly with a *Cretan* Arrow, and flouncing as he died, threw off *Pyrrhus* on ſlippery and very ſteep Grounds, at which, all about him being in a Confuſion, the *Spartans* came boldly up, and making good uſe of their Arrows, forc'd them off again. This cauſed *Pyrrhus* to retreat a ſecond time, thinking the *Lacedemonians* would abate of

of their Vigour, when almoſt all of them were wounded, and very great numbers killed outright; But the good Fortune of the City, either reſolving to make the utmoſt Experiment of the bravery of her own Citizens upon her ſelf, or giving a demonſtration how great a power ſhe has in dubious Accidents, the *Lacedemonians* having now but very ſlender hopes left, brought *Ameinias*, the *Phocian*, one of *Antigonus*'s Commanders, from *Corinth* to their aſſiſtance, with an Army of Strangers, and they were no ſooner receiv'd into the Town, but *Areus* their King arrived there himſelf too from *Crete*, with 2000 Men more: The Women upon this went all home to their Houſes, finding it no longer neceſſary for them to meddle with the buſineſs of the War; and they alſo were ſent back, who though under Age, were by neceſſity forced to take Arms; the reſt prepared to fight *Pyrrhus* upon the coming of theſe additional Forces, who was poſſeſſed with a more eager deſire and ambition than before to make himſelf Maſter of the Town; but his Deſigns not ſucceeding, and receiving freſh loſſes every Day, he gave over the Siege, and fell to plunder the Country, determining to winter thereabout. But Fate is unavoidable, and a great Feud happ'ning at *Argos* between

Pyrrhus *draws off from* Sparta.

tween *Ariſteus* and *Ariſtippus*, two principal Citizens, after *Ariſtippus* had reſolved to make uſe of the Friendſhip of *Antigonus*, *Ariſteus* to prevent him invited *Pyrrhus* thither; and he always revolving hopes upon hopes, and taking advantage from good Succeſſes to embrace occaſions of more, and when things went unproſperouſly, to make up thoſe Defects by doing better another time, he neither made Loſſes nor Victories the Bounds of his receiving or giving Trouble, and ſo preſently went for *Argos*. *Areus*, by frequent Ambuſhes, and lining the Hedges where the Ways were moſt unpracticable, cut off many of the *Gauls* and *Moloſſians* that brought up the Rear. It was told *Pyrrhus* by one of the Prieſts that found the Liver of the ſacrificed Beaſt imperfect, *That ſome of his near Relations would be loſt.* In this Tumult and Diſorder of his Rear, forgetting the Prediction, he commanded out his Son *Ptolomee*, with ſome of his Guards to their aſſiſtance, who quickly getting out of the narrow Ways, march'd up to them, and the Fight being very warm where he was (for the moſt ſelect Men of the *Lacedemonians*, commanded by *Evalcus*, were there engaged) one *Oræſus*, of *Aptera* in *Crete*, a ſtout Man and very ſwift, running on the one ſide of the young Prince,

Pyrrhus *ſent for to* Argos.

as

as he was fighting bravely, gave him a mortal Wound and ſlew him; he falling, thoſe about him turned their Backs; the *Lacedemonian* Horſe purſuing and cutting off many, were got into the open Field engaged with the Enemy before they were aware, without the Infantry; *Pyrrhus*, who had received the ill News of his Son, and was infinitely afflicted at it, drew out his *Moloſſian* Horſe againſt them, and charging in the Head of his Men, ſatiated himſelf with the Blood and Slaughter of the *Lacedemonians*, always indeed appearing an invincible Hero, and mighty in Arms, but now exceeded all he had ever done before in Courage and Force: Then riding up furiouſly to *Evalcus*, he declining a little to one ſide, had almoſt cut off *Pyrrhus* his Hand in which he held the Reins, but lighting on the Reins only, cut them; at the ſame inſtant *Pyrrhus* running him through with his Spear, fell from his Horſe, and on foot as he was cut in pieces all thoſe choice Men that fought about the Body of *Evalcus*; and the obſtinate Fury of the Commanders on both ſides brought this great Loſs to *Sparta*, even when the War was now at an end. *Pyrrhus* having thus offered ſo many as it were in Sacrifice to the Ghoſt of his Son, and made his Fight a kind of Funeral Show, converting much of his Grief into Rage againſt

Ptolomee *one of his Sons killed.*

gainſt the Enemy, marched away to *Argos*. And having Intelligence that *Antigonus* kept the high Grounds, he encamped about *Nauplia*; the next day he diſpatched an Herald to *Antigonus*, calling him perfidious, and challenging him to deſcend into the plain Field, and fight with him for the Kingdom; he anſwered, his Conduct ſhould be meaſured by Times as well as by Arms, and that if *Pyrrhus* had no leiſure to live, there were ways enough open to Death. To both the Kings alſo came Ambaſſadors from *Argos*, deſiring each Party to retreat, and not ſuffer the City to fall into the hands of any one of them that had a great honour for both. *Antigonus* was perſwaded, and ſent his Son an Hoſtage to the *Argives*; but *Pyrrhus*, although he promiſed a receſs, yet ſending no Hoſtage, he was much ſuſpected. At this time a great Prodigy happen'd to *Pyrrhus*, for the Heads of the Sacrificed Oxen lying apart from the Bodies, were ſeen to thruſt out their Tongues, and lick up their own Gore. And in the very City of *Argos*, a Prieſteſs of *Apollo Lycius* ran about the Streets, crying, She ſaw the City full of Carcaſſes and Slaughter, and an Eagle coming out to fight, and preſently vaniſhing again. In the dead of the Night *Pyrrhus* approaching the Walls, and finding the Gate called *Diamperes* ſet open for

*Antigonus's Anſwer to a Challenge of* Pyrrhus.

*He enters the Town by Night undiſcovered.*

for them by *Ariſteas*, was undiſcovered till ſuch time as all his *Gauls* had entred, and took poſſeſſion of the Market-place, but the Gate being too low to let in the Elephants, they were fain to take down their Towers, and put them on again in the dark, and in diſorder, ſo that time being loſt, the City took the Alarm, and the People, ſome run to *Aſpis*, the chief Citadel, and others to other Places of Defence, and ſent away to *Antigonus* to aſſiſt them, who coming pretty near, made an halt, but ſent in ſome of his principal Commanders, and his Son with a very conſiderable Force: *Areus* came thither too with 1000 *Cretans*, and ſome of the briskeſt of the *Spartans*, and all falling on at once upon the *Gauls*, put them in great diſorder. *Pyrrhus* entring in with a mighty Noiſe and Shout at a place called *Cylabaris*, when the *Gauls* returned another Cry to them, it did not expreſs Courage and Aſſurance, but the Voice of Men diſtreſſed, and that had their hands full. Therefore *Pyrrhus* in haſte puſhed on the Van of his Horſe that marched but ſlowly and dangerouſly, by reaſon of the Drains and Sinks, of which the City was full. In this Night-Engagement, there was infinite confuſion both in thoſe that acted, and thoſe that commanded, miſtaking and ſtragling in the narrow Streets;

*Infinite confuſion on all hands in the Night.*

it was impoſſible to make uſe of Conduct or Order in that darkneſs and variety of Noiſes and ſtrait Paſſages; ſo both ſides continued without doing any thing, and expecting Day-light. At the firſt dawn, *Pyrrhus* ſeeing the great Citadel *Aſpis* full of Men, was diſturbed, and remarking among many Figures dedicated to the Market-place, a Wolf and Bull of Braſs, as it were ready to attack one another, he was ſtruck with horrour; reflecting upon the Memory of an Oracle, that formerly predicted, Fate had determined his Death when he ſhould ſee a Wolf fighting with a Bull. The *Argives* report theſe Figures were placed in Memory of a thing that fell out anciently there: For *Danaus*, when he firſt invaded thoſe Parts, paſſing by the ways called *Pyramia* in *Thyreatis*, as he marched towards *Argos*, eſpied a Wolf fighting with a Bull, and imagining the Wolf to repreſent him (for this Stranger fell upon a Native as he deſigned to do) ſtay'd to ſee the Iſſue of the Fight, and the Wolf prevailing, after he had offered his Devotions to *Apollo Lycius*, he aſſaulted and carried the Town, *Gelanor*, who was then King, being diſplac'd by a Faction: And this was the Cauſe of dedicating thoſe Figures. *Pyrrhus* quite out of heart at this Sight, and ſeeing none of his Deſigns ſucceed, thought beſt to retreat, but

*The Sight of a Figure in the Marplace, ſtrikes him with horrour.*

but fearing the ſtrait Paſſage at the Gates, ſent to his Son *Helenus*, who was left without the Town with a great part of his Forces, commanding him to break down part of the Wall, and aſſiſt the Retreat if the Enemy preſſed hard upon them: But what with the haſte and confuſion of the Perſon that was ſent, he delivered nothing clearly; ſo that quite miſtaking, the young Prince, with the beſt of his Men, and the remaining Elephants, marched ſtreight through the Gates into the Town to aſſiſt his Father. *Pyrrhus* was now making good his Retreat, and while the Market-place afforded them ground enough both to retreat and fight, frequently repulſed the Enemy, that bore upon him; when he was forced out of that broad place, into a narrow ſtreet leading to the Gate, and fell in with thoſe who came the other way to his aſſiſtance, they not hearing him call out to them to give back, and coming on very briskly of themſelves, were alſo puſhed forward by others behind, who poured in at the Gate: Beſides, the largeſt of the Elephants falling down on his ſide, in the very Gate, and terribly braying, lay in the way of thoſe that would have got out. Another of theſe already in the Town, called *Nicon*, ſtriving to take up his Rider, who after many Wounds received, was fallen off his

*A remarkable kindneſs of an Elephant to his Keeper.*

back, bore forward upon them that retreated, and thruſting as well Friends as Enemies, tumbled them all confuſedly upon one another, till having found the Body, and taken it up with his Trunk, he carried it on his Tuſhes, and returning in a great Rage, trode down all before him. Being thus preſſed and crowded together, not a Man could do any thing ſingly, but wedged ſo cloſe, as it were one Maſs, the whole multitude rolled and ſwayed this way and that all together, they did very little Execution upon the Enemy, either in their Front or Rear, but very much harm to one another; for he who had either drawn his Sword, or directed his Lance, could neither advance it again, nor put his Sword up, but wounded their own Men, as by chance they were thruſt together, and ſo fell dead one among another. *Pyrrhus* ſeeing the mighty Storm and Confuſion of things, took off the Crown he wore upon his Helmet, by which he was diſtinguiſhed, and gave it to one neareſt his Perſon, and truſting to the goodneſs of his Horſe, rid in among the thickeſt of the Enemy, and being wounded with a Lance through his Breaſt-plate, but not dangerouſly, nor indeed very much, he turned about to him that ſtruck him, who was an *Argive*, not a Man of any Illuſtrious Birth, but the Son of a poor old Woman: She

was

was looking upon the Fight among other Women, from the top of an Houſe, and perceiving her Son engaged with *Pyrrhus*, and affrighted at the danger he was in, took up a Tile with both hands, and threw it at *Pyrrhus*, which falling on his Head, below his Helmet, and bruſing the *Vertebres* of the lower part of the Neck, his Eye-ſight was taken away, his Hands let go the Reins, and ſinking down from his Horſe, fell juſt by the Tomb of *Lycimnius*; the common Soldiers knew not who it was; but one *Zopyrus*, that ſerved under *Antigonus*, and two or three others running thither, and knowing it was *Pyrrhus*, dragg'd him to a Threſhold hard by, juſt as he was recovering a little from the blow; *Zopyrus* drawing out an *Illyrian* Sword, and ready to cut off his Head, *Pyrrhus* gave him ſo fierce a Look, that confounded with Terror, and ſometimes his hands trembling, and then again endeavouring to do it, full of Fear and Confuſion, he could not ſtrike him right, but cutting over his Mouth and Chin, it was a long time before he got off the Head: This was quickly known to a great many, and *Alcyoneus* haſt'ning to the place, deſired to look upon the Head, and ſee whether he knew it, and taking it in his hand, rid away to his Father, and threw it at his Feet, while he was ſitting with ſome of his

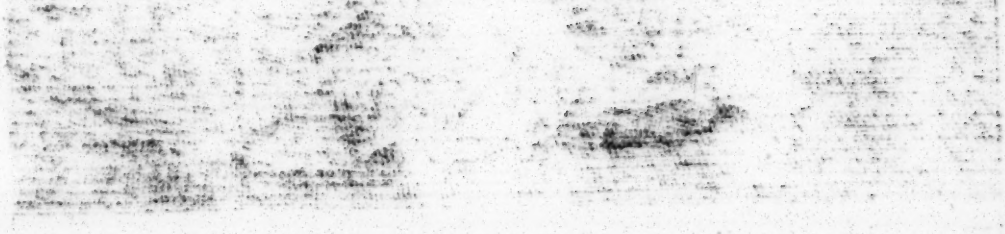
Pyrrhus *almoſt killed by a Tile thrown off an houſe by an old Woman.*

Pyrrhus, *when half dead, terrifies a Soldier ſo with a Look, he could hardly cut off his Head.*

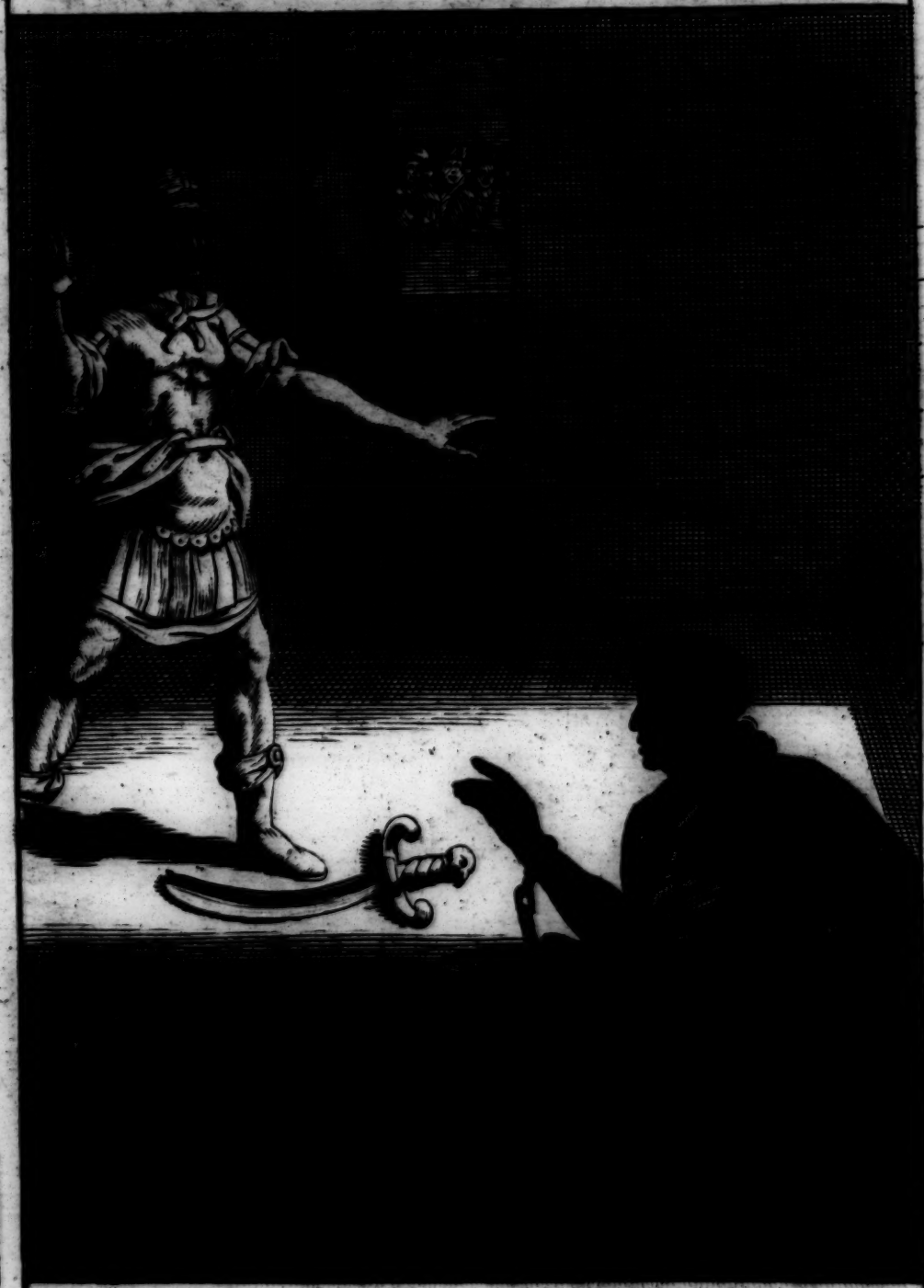
particular Favourites: *Antigonus* looking upon it, and knowing it, thruſt his Son from him, and ſtruck him with his Cane, calling him wicked and barbarous, and covering his Eyes with his Robe, fell a weeping, when he reflected upon the inſtances of the change of Fortune in his own Family, both in his Grandfather, and his Father, and cauſed the Head and Body of *Pyrrhus* to be burned with all due Solemnity; after this, *Alcyoneus* diſcovering *Helenus* under a mean Diſguiſe, in a poor thred-bare Coat, uſed him very reſpectfully, and brought him to his Father: When *Antigonus* ſaw him, *This, Son* (ſaid he) *was done much more Nobly than before, but yet there is a defect, that you have not taken off that old Coat, which is a Scandal to us who have got the Victory*; and then treating *Helenus* with great kindneſs, and as became a Prince, reſtored him to his Kingdom of *Epirus*, and gave the ſame obliging Reception to all *Pyrrhus* his principal Commanders, after he had reduced the whole Army under his Obedience.

*Royal Generoſity of* Antigonus.

THE



# CAIUS MARIUS.



Σὺ δὴ τολμᾷς, ἄνθρωπε, Γάϊον Μάριον ἀναιρεῖν;



MBurghers sculp.

# THE LIFE OF *CAIUS MARIUS.*

Engliſhed from the *Greek*, by

*MILES STAPLETON*,

Fellow of *All-Souls* College in *Oxon.*

## VOLUME III.

1. WE are altogether ignorant of the third Name of *Caius Marius*; as likewiſe of that of *Quintus Sertorius* that poſſeſſed himſelf of *Spain*; or of *Lucius Mummius* that deſtroyed *Corinth*: Though this laſt was ſurnamed *Achaius*, from his Conqueſts; as *Scipio* was called *Affricanus*, and *Metellus* *Of the Names of the Romans*

*lus Macedonicus*, whence *Poſidonius* draws his chiefeſt Argument to confute thoſe that hold the Second to be the *Roman* Proper Name; as *Camillus*, *Marcellus*, *Cato*: for ſo they that had but two Names would have none proper; and he did not foreſee, that by the very ſame Reaſon he muſt rob the Women abſolutely of their Names; for none of them have the firſt, which *Poſidonius* imagines the proper Name with the *Romans*. Now of the other Names, one was common to the whole Family, as the *Pompii*, *Manlii*, *Cornelii* (and with us *Grecians*, the *Heraclidæ*, and *Pelopidæ*) the other Titular; adopted to them either from their Natures, or Actions, or Affections, and Shapes of their Body; as *Macrinus*, *Torquatus*, *Sylla*; ſuch alſo is *Mnemon*, *Grypus*, or *Calimicus* among the *Grecians*. But of the Variety of Names, the Irregularity of Cuſtom, would we inſiſt upon it, might furniſh us with Diſcourſe enough.

Marius's *Statue*. * Ciſalpina.

2. We have ſeen *Marius*'s Effigies in Stone at *Ravenna* in * *Gallia*, very agreeable to that roughneſs and ſourneſs of his Behaviour remarked by all Authors; for being naturally Valiant and Warlike, more acquainted alſo with the Diſcipline of the Camp than of the City, he could not moderate his Paſſion, when in Authority. He

is

is ſaid, neither to have much ſtudied *Greek*, nor ever to have made uſe of that Language in any matter of Conſequence; as thinking it ridiculous to beſtow time in that Learning, the Teachers whereof were little better than their Slaves. So after his ſecond Triumph, when at the Dedication of a Temple, he preſented ſome Shows after the *Greek* Faſhion, coming into the Theatre, he only ſat down, and immediately departed. Wherefore, as *Plato* often uſed to ſay to *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher, who was ſeemingly of a more than ordinary rigid Diſpoſition: *Prethee, good* Xenocrates, *ſacrifice to the Graces:* So if any could have perſwaded *Marius* to pay his Devotions to the *Greek* Muſes and Graces, he had never brought thoſe his incomparable Deſigns both in War and Peace to ſo unhappy a Concluſion, or plunged himſelf into a turbulent and unpleaſant Old Age through his Paſſion, ill-tim'd Ambition, and inſatiable Avarice; but this will farther appear by and by, from his Actions.

3. He was born of Parents altogether obſcure, indigent, and that ſupported themſelves by their daily Labour, his Father of the ſame Name with himſelf, his Mother called *Fulcinia*. He had paſſed a conſiderable part of his Age before he ſaw and taſted *His Parentage.*

taſted the Pleaſures of the City; at firſt he lived in *Cirræaton*, a Village in the Territory of *Arpinum*, a Life compared with the City-delicacies, harſh and ruſtical; yet temperate, and much reſembling the ancient *Roman* Severity. He firſt liſted himſelf in the War againſt the *Celtiberes*; when *Scipio Affricanus* beſieg'd *Numantia*, where he ſoon ſignalized himſelf to his General, by his Courage, very far above his Comrades; and particularly, by his ſo chearfully complying with *Scipio*'s Reformation of his Army, before almoſt ruined by Pleaſures and Luxury. 'Tis reported too, that he challeng'd, or at leaſt encountred and vanquiſh'd an Enemy in his General's ſight, wherefore he had ſeveral Honours conferred upon him; and among the reſt, when at an Entertainment, a Diſcourſe ariſing about Commanders, one of the Company (whether really deſirous to know, or only in Complaiſance) asked *Scipio*, where the *Romans*, after him, ſhould obtain ſuch another General? *Scipio* gently clapping *Marius* o'th' Back, who ſate next him, replied, *Here, perhaps.* So promiſing was his Nature, that in his very Youth, there appear'd *Omens* of his future Greatneſs, and from his low Beginnings the height of his Advancement might be collected.

4. *Marius*

4. *Marius* fired with this Speech of *Scipio*, as with a divine Oracle, took the Courage to apply himſelf to the Management of Publick Affairs; and by the aſſiſtance of *Cæcilius Metellus* (on whoſe Family he, as well as his Father, had continual Dependence) obtained the Office of Tribune of the People. In which place, when he would have made a Law concerning Voting, which ſeem'd to leſſen the Authority of the Great Men in matters of *Judicature*, the Conſul *Cotta* oppoſed him, and perſwaded the Senate to declare againſt the Law, and call *Marius* to an account for it: But he, while this Decree was preparing, coming into the Senate, did not behave himſelf like a young Man newly and undeſervedly advanced to Authority; but taking as much Courage as his future Actions would have inſpired into him, threatned *Cotta*, unleſs he recalled the Decree, to clap him in Priſon; and turning to *Metellus*, asked his Vote; *Metellus* riſing up, concurred with the Conſul: Whereupon *Marius* calling for an Officer, commanded to take *Metellus* too into Cuſtody; who tho' he appealed to the other Tribunes, yet not one of them aſſiſted him; ſo that the Senate immediately complying, repealed the Decree. *His Tribuneſhip.*

5. *Marius*, now famous among the People

People for this Exploit, confirmed his Law, and was henceforth eſteemed of an undaunted Courage and Aſſurance, as well as a vigorous Oppoſer of the Senate in favour of the Commons. But he immediately loſt this their Opinion of him by a contrary Action; for when a Law concerning *the diſtribution of Corn* was propoſed; he very vigorouſly contradicted the Citizens, and carried it, making himſelf equally honoured by both Parties in gratifying neither, contrary to the Publick Intereſt.

*His ſtanding to be Ædile.* After his Tribuneſhip he was Candidate for the Office of chief *Ædile*; for there are two Orders of them, one called *Curulis*, from the Stool on which he ſat when he executed his Authority; the other inferior, is called *Ædilis-plebis*: As ſoon as they have choſen the former, they give their Voices again for the latter. Wherefore *Marius*, when he was apparently like to be put by the greater, immediately changed his Deſign, and ſtood for the leſs; but becauſe he ſeem'd too forward and opiniatre, he was diſappointed of that alſo. And though he were in one day twice fruſtrated of his deſired Preferment (which never happen'd to any before) yet he was not at all diſcouraged; but a little while after ſought for the Pretorſhip, and was near ſuffering a Repulſe, and then too, though

though he was returned laſt of all, was nevertheleſs accuſed of indirectly acquiring it.

6. *Caſſius Sabaco*'s Servant, who was obſerved within the Rails among them that voted, chiefly occaſioned the Suſpicion; for this *Sabaco* was an intimate Friend of *Marius*, and being called to appear before the Judges, alledged; That being thirſty, by reaſon of the Heat, he called for cold Water, and that his Servant brought him a Cup, and as ſoon as he drank, departed; however he was excluded the Senate by the ſucceeding Cenſors, and not undeſervedly neither (as was thought) either for his falſe Evidence or Intemperance. *Cajus Herennius* was alſo cited as Evidence; but pleaded that it was not cuſtomary for a Patron (for ſo the *Romans* call their Advocates) to witneſs againſt his Clients, and that the Law excuſed them from that diſobligement: Now both his Parents and himſelf were always Clients to the Family of the *Herennii*; and when the Judges would have accepted of this Plea, *Marius* himſelf oppoſed it, and told *Herennius*, that when he was firſt created Magiſtrate, he ceaſed to be his Client; which was not altogether true: for it is not every Office that frees Clients and their Poſterity from the Obſervance due to their

*His Pretorſhip and Accuſation.*

their Patrons, but only that to which the Law has assigned a *Sella Curulis*. Notwithstanding, though at the beginning of the Suit it went somewhat hard with *Marius*, and he found the Judges no way favourable to him; yet at last their Voices being equal, he was beyond expectation acquitted.

7. In his Prætorship he got not much Honour, yet afterwards obtained the farther *Spain*; which Province he is said to have clear'd of Thieves, when as yet it was not throughly setled in Peace, and much wasted by the late Wars; and the *Spaniards* in those Days thought Robbery a piece of Valour. Returning to the Affairs of the City, he trusted neither to Riches nor to Eloquence, with which the leading Men chiefly took the People; but the Citizens having his fierce Disposition, indefatigable Pains, and popular way of Living in high Esteem, he acquired by these Offices great Wealth and Power; so that he made
*His Wife.* a very honourable Match with *Julia* of the Renowned Family of the *Cæsars*, to whom that *Cæsar* was Nephew, who was afterwards so great among the *Romans*, and who by the relation he had to *Marius*, was popular with that Party; as in his Life we have observed. They attribute to *Marius* both Temperance and Patience, of which latter

latter he gave a pregnant Inſtance in an Operation of Surgery; for having (as it ſeems) both his Legs full of great Tumours called *Varices*, and being troubled at their Deformity, he determined to put himſelf into the Hands of an Operator; where, without being tied, he ſtretched out one of his Legs, and ſilently, without changing Countenance, endured moſt exceſſive Torments in the cutting, never either flinching or complaining; but when the Surgeon went to the other, he ſuffered him not, ſaying, *I ſee the Cure is not worth the Pain.*

*His Deportment in the War againſt* Jugurtha.

8. The Conſul *Cæcilius Metellus* being declared General in the War againſt *Jugurtha* in *Africk*, took with him *Marius* for Lieutenant; where he putting himſelf upon the performance of dangerous Actions and honourable Adventures, neglected *Metellus*'s Glory, and the ſerving his Intereſt, as others before him had practiſed; for attributing his Honour of Lieutenancy not to *Metellus* but Fortune, which had preſented him with a proper Opportunity and Theatre of great Actions, he exerted his utmoſt Courage. That War too affording ſeveral Difficulties, he neither declined the greateſt, nor diſdained undertaking the leaſt of them; but ſurpaſſing his Equals in Counſel and Conduct, and matching

matching the very common Soldiers in Labour and Abſtemiouſneſs, he ſtrangely won their Affections; for the voluntary partaking with them in their Labour ſeems to be an eaſing of them; inaſmuch as they apprehend it to take away the conſtraint and neceſſity of working. It is the moſt obliging ſight in the World to the *Romans*, to ſee a Commander eat the ſame Meat with his Soldiers, or lye upon an ordinary Bed, or aſſiſt the Work in the drawing a Trench, and raiſing a Bulwark; for they do not ſo much admire thoſe that confer Honours and Riches upon them, as thoſe that partake of the ſame Labour and Danger with themſelves; but love them better that will vouchſafe to forward their Work, than thoſe that encourage their Idleneſs.

9. Whilſt *Marius* was thus employed, and thereby won mightily upon the Soldiers, he immediately filled both *Africk* and *Rome* with his Fame, and ſome too wrote home from the Army, that the War with *Africa* would never be brought to a Concluſion, unleſs they choſe *C. Marius* Conſul; whereat *Metellus* was apparently incenſed; but was more eſpecially grieved at the Calamity of *Turpilius*.

Turpilius. This *Turpilius* had from his Anceſtors been a Friend of, and kept conſtant Hoſpitality with

with *Metellus*; and now being made by him Overſeer of the Workmen, was concerned in this War, where commanding a Garriſon in *Vacca* a conſiderable City, and truſting too much to the Inhabitants becauſe he treated them civilly and kindly, he unawares fell into the Enemies hands; for they received *Jugurtha* into the City, yet nevertheleſs at their requeſt *Turpilius* was diſmiſſed ſafe, and without receiving any Injury: Whereupon he was accuſed of betraying it to the Enemy. *Marius*, being one of the Council of War, was not only violent againſt him himſelf, but alſo incenſed moſt of the others, ſo that *Metellus* was forced (much againſt his Will) to put him to Death. Not long after, the Accuſation proved falſe, and when others were comforting *Metellus*, who took heavily the loſs of his Friend, *Marius* rather inſulting and arrogating it to himſelf, boaſted in all Companies that he had lodged a Fury in *Metellus*'s Soul, by forcing him to put to Death his deareſt Friend.

Marius *an Enemy to him.*

10. Henceforward they were at open variance; and 'tis reported, that *Metellus* ſhould ſay, drolling upon *Marius* then preſent: *Oh Sir, you deſign to leave us to go home and ſtand for the Conſulſhip; would not you be well enough contented to be Conſul with this Boy of mine?* Now *Metellus*'s

Son was very young. Yet for all this *Marius* being very importunate to be gone, after ſeveral delays, he was diſmiſſed about twelve days before the Election of Conſuls; and performed that long Journey from the Camp to *Utica* (a Sea-Town) in two days and a night, and there doing Sacrifice before he went on Ship-board, it is ſaid, the *Augur* told him, that Heaven promiſed him ſome incredible good Fortune, and ſuch as was beyond all expectation. *Marius* not a little proud of this good *Omen*, began his Voyage, and in four days with a favourable Wind paſſed the Sea; he was extremely welcome to the People, and being brought into the Aſſembly by one of the Tribunes, he ſued for the Conſulſhip, mightily inveighing againſt *Metellus*, and promiſing either to ſlay *Jugurtha*, or take him alive.

Marius goes to Rome.

11. He was elected with great Applauſe; but preſently levied Soldiers contrary both to Law and Cuſtom, liſting ſeveral Slaves and poor People; whereas former Commanders never accepted of ſuch; but beſtowed Arms, like other Favours, with Honour on deſerving Perſons; every one eſteeming his Wealth as a pledge for his good performance. Theſe were not the only Prejudices againſt *Marius*; but ſome haughty * Speeches, uttered with great

His firſt Conſulſhip.

* *See his Speech in* Saluſt.

great Arrogance and Contempt, grieved the Nobility extremely; as that he ſhould ſay, he took the Conſulſhip as a prey from the Effeminacy of the wealthy and nobler Citizens, and tell the People that he glo-ried in the Wounds he received for them, more than others in the Monuments of the Dead and Images of their Anceſtors; often ſpeaking of thoſe Commanders, *Beſtia* and *Albinus*, that were unfortunate in *Africk*, ſaid, that they were indeed Men of very good Families, but unfit for War, and ſuch as miſcarried through want of Experience; and asked them that were about him, If they did not think that their Anceſtors had not much rather have left a Poſterity like him, ſince they themſelves grew famous not by Nobility, but by their Valour and great Actions? This he did not ſay meerly out of Vanity and Arrogance, or that he were willing without any advantage to reproach the Nobility; but the People always delighting in Affronts and ſcurrilous Contumelies againſt the Senate (whereby they meaſure Greatneſs of Spirit) continually encouraged him in it, and inſtigated him not to ſpare the moſt worthy Perſons, ſo that he might thereby gratifie the Multitude.

*Metellus's grief for giving place to him.*

12. As ſoon as he arrived again in *Africk*, *Metellus* now not able to bear up under

under the violence of the others Envy, and Vehemence of his own Paſſion; That having finiſhed the War, and nothing left but to ſecure the Perſon of *Jugurtha*, *Marius* now grown great meerly through his Ingratitude to him, ſhould bereave him both of his Victory and Triumph, he could not ſtand the Interview; but of himſelf retired, whilſt *Rutilius* his Lieutenant ſurrendred up the Army to *Marius*, which the juſt Wrath of the Gods returned upon his Head in the end of the War; for *Sylla* deprived him of the Glory of the Action, as he had done *Metellus*; the manner of it I ſhall lay down in a word or two, having more particularly inſiſted upon it in *Sylla*'s Life. *Bocchus* was King of *Mauritania*, and Father-in-law to *Jugurtha*, yet ſent him little or no aſſiſtance in his War, pretending his unfaithfulneſs, though really jealous of his growing Power; but after *Jugurtha* fled, and in his diſtreſs came to him as his laſt Sanctuary, he received him indeed as a Suppliant, rather becauſe aſhamed to do otherwiſe, than out of real Kindneſs; and when he had him in his power, he openly intreated *Marius* on his behalf, and vigorouſly interceded for him, giving out that he would by no means deliver him, yet privately deſigning to betray him, he ſent for *L. Sylla*, Quæſtor to *Marius*,

Jugurtha *delivered to* Sylla.

*Marius*, and who had ſometime befriended *Bocchus* in the Army. When *Sylla* relying on his Word came to him, the *African* began to repent of his purpoſe, and often changed his Mind, being for ſeveral Days unreſolved with himſelf whether he ſhould deliver *Jugurtha*, or retain *Sylla*; at length he fixed upon his former Treachery, and put *Jugurtha* alive into *Sylla*'s poſſeſſion.

13. This gave the firſt riſe to that ſad and deplorable Civil War, which almoſt ruined the whole *Roman* Empire; for many that envied *Marius*, attributed the Succeſs wholly to *Sylla*; and *Sylla* himſelf made him a Seal, wherein was engraven *Bocchus* betraying *Jugurtha* to him, and this he conſtantly uſed; whereby he highly provoked *Marius*, a Man extreamly ambitious and jealous of a Rival in his Glory, his Enemies eſpecially promoting the Diſſention, and aſcribing the beginning and chief buſineſs of the War to *Metellus*, and the concluſion to *Sylla*; that ſo the People might give over admiring and eſteeming *Marius* as the worthieſt Perſon. But theſe Envyings and Calumnies were ſoon diſperſed and wiped off from *Marius*, by the eminent danger that threatned *Italy* from the * Weſt; for the City had great need of a good Commander, and ſought about whom ſhe might ſet

Sylla *provokes* Marius.

* *The* Cimbri, *though a Northern People, yet having routed* Mallius *and* Cæpio *in* Spain *and* Gallia, *came immediately from thoſe Parts to* Rome.

at the Helm, to repel the Inundation of ſo great a War; and when not one of the Noble or Potent Families appeared Candidate for the Conſulſhip, they created *Marius* though then abſent.

*The* Teutones *and* Cimbri.

14. Now *Jugurtha*'s Defeat was juſt noiſed about, when the News of the Invaſion of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri* began; At firſt it exceeded all credit, as to the number and ſtrength of the approaching Army; but at length that Report proved much inferior to the Truth, for they were 300000 effective fighting Men; beſides a far greater number of Women and Children. Their Pretence was the ſeeking New Countries to ſuſtain their ſo great Multitudes, and Cities where they might ſettle and inhabit; as they had heard the *Celtæ* before them had expulſed the *Tyrrheni*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt part of *Italy*. Now theſe having had no Commerce with the Southern Nations, and coming from Countries far remote; no Man knew what People they were, or whence they came, that thus like a Cloud hovered over *Gallia* and *Italy*: yet by their grey Eyes and the largeneſs of their Stature, they conjectured them to be ſome of thoſe *Germans* that dwell by the Northern Sea; beſides that the *Germans* call their * Soldiers *Cimbri*.

* *Not Thieves, though* Latrones *now generally ſignifies in the worſe ſenſe.*

15. There

15. There are ſome that ſay, that the Country of the *Celtæ*, through the largeneſs and extent of the Place, reacheth from the fartheſt Sea and Northern Climes to the Lake *Mæotis* Eaſtward, and to that part of *Scythia* which is near *Pontus*; and that there the two Nations mingled together: that they did not ſwarm out of their Country all at once, or on a ſudden, but at a certain ſeaſon every Year; ſtill going forward at ſeveral times, gave diſturbance with their Wars to the whole Continent; whereby, though each Party had ſeveral Appellations, yet the whole Army was called by the common Name of *Celtick-Scythians*. Others ſay that they were a ſmall parcel of the *Cimmerii*, anciently well known to the *Grecians*; who upon ſome Sedition raiſed among the *Scythians*, paſſed all along from the Lake *Mæotis* to *Aſia*, under the Conduct of one *Lygdamis*; but the greater and more warlike part of them ſtill inhabit the remoteſt Regions lying upon the farther Ocean. Theſe they ſay live in a dark and woody Country, hardly penetrable by the Sun-beams, by reaſon of their many high and ſpreading Trees; which alſo reach inward as far as the *Hercinian* Foreſt; that they are under that part of Heaven, where the Pole is ſo elevated, that by the Declinati-

on of the Parallels, the Zenith of the Inhabitants ſeems to be but little diſtant from it; and that their Days and Nights being almoſt of an equal length, they divide their Year into one of each. This diſmal Country gave *Homer* occaſion for the Fiction, *that when* Ulyſſes *would call up the dead, he retired into the Country of the* Cimmerians; as conceiving it either Hell it ſelf, or a Place neareſt to it; and that from hence thoſe People, who were anciently called *Cimmerii*, and then (though not from their manner of life) *Cimbri*, came into *Italy*; but this is rather Conjecture than an Authentick Hiſtory.

§ Odyſſ. 11.

16. However, moſt Writers agree, that the number of this Raſcality was not leſs, but rather greater than was reported. They were of an invincible ſtrength and fierceneſs in their Wars; and came on with the ſame irreſiſtable violence as a devouring Flame; nor could any withſtand their fury in their March, but all, as many as they aſſaulted, were trodden down and hurried along as their Prey. Several of the greateſt *Roman* Commanders with their whole Armies, that were ſet for the Defence of *Gallia Tranſalpina*, were ingloriouſly overthrown; who indeed by their faint Reſiſtance chiefly gave them the Boldneſs

Boldneſs of marching towards *Rome:* for having vanquiſhed all they ſet upon, and being well laden with Plunder, they reſolved to ſettle themſelves no where till they ſhould have razed the City, and waſted all *Italy*. The *Romans* being from all Parts alarmed with this News, ſent for *Marius* to manage the War, and nominated him the *ſecond time Conſul:* though the Law did not permit any one that was abſent, or that had not ſtayed a certain time from his firſt Conſulſhip to be again created: yet the People rejected all Oppoſers; for they conſidered this was not the firſt time, that the Law gave place to the Common Intereſt, nor the preſent occaſion leſs urgent than that, when contrary to Law, they made *Scipio* Conſul; then not fearing the deſtruction of their own City, but deſiring the Ruin of that of the *Carthaginians*. *Marius's ſecond Conſulſhip.*

27. This prevailed, and *Marius* bringing over his Legions out of *Africk* on the very firſt day of *January* (which the *Romans* reckon the beginning of their Year) he received the Conſulſhip, and then alſo entred in Triumph, ſhewing *Jugurtha* a Priſoner to the People, a Sight beyond their expectation; for none could hope to ſubdue that Province while he lived; ſo cautelous was the Man in complying with all *His Triumph.*

all the turns of Fortune, and to his Valour had the addition of a great ſhare of Craft. 'Tis ſaid, that when he was led in Triumph, he fell diſtracted, and was afterwards thrown into Priſon, where ſome forcibly tore off his Clothes; and others whilſt they ſtrove for his golden Pendant, with it pulled off the tip of his Ear; and when he was caſt naked into the Dungeon, full of Horror, yet forcing a Smile, he cryed out, *O Heavens! How intolerably cold is this Bath of yours?* where for ſix Days ſtruggling with extreme Hunger, and to the very laſt minute ſeeming deſirous of Life, he was overtaken by the juſt Reward of his Villanies. In this Triumph was brought (as was reported) of Gold 3007 Pound weight, of Silver Bullion 5775, of Mony in Gold and Silver Coin 17028 Drachms. After the Solemnity, *Marius* called together the Senate in the Capitol, and entred the Court inſolently, whether through Inadvertency, or too much puffed up with his good Fortune, in his Triumphal Habit; yet preſently obſerving the Senate offended at it, he went out, and putting on his ordinary Purple Robe, immediately returned.

*His diſciplining his Army.*

18. In his Expeditions he appeared in the Head of his Army, and trained them in their Exerciſes while they marched; uſing

uſing them to Labour and Wearineſs, to long and tedious Journies, and compelled each Soldier to carry his own Baggage, and provide his own Victuals; inſomuch that thenceforward ſuch as were very laborious, ſilently without grumbling doing their work, were call'd *Marius*'s Mules. But ſome think there was another occaſion of this Proverb; that when *Scipio* beſieg'd *Numantia*, he being careful to inſpect not only their Horſes and Arms, but their Mules and Carriages too, and ſee how well equipped and in what readineſs each one's was, *Marius* brought forth his Horſe, which he had fed extremely well, and a Mule in better caſe, ſtronger and gentler than thoſe of others; whereupon the General was very well pleaſed with, and often mention'd, *Marius*'s Beaſts; inſomuch that when they would Droll in the Praiſe of a continual drudging, laborious Fellow, they called him *Marius*'s Mule.

19. But to proceed; Very great good Fortune ſeemed to attend *Marius*; for the Enemy in a manner changing their courſe, and falling firſt upon *Spain*, he had time to Exerciſe his Soldiers, and confirm their Courage; and which was moſt conſiderable, to ſhew them what he himſelf was. For that fierce Humour of his in Authority and Inexorableneſs in puniſhing, proved both

*His good Fortune.*

both juſt and advantageous to thoſe that did not uſe to do amiſs, and were not ſtubborn in their faults; and his turbulent Spirit, ſtern Voice, and ſowr Aſpect, which were in a little while grown familiar to them, they eſteemed terrible not to themſelves, but only to their Enemies. But his Uprightneſs in judging did more eſpecially pleaſe the Soldiers, whereof this is a remarkable inſtance. One *C. Lucius* his own Nephew, had a Command under him in the Army, who was a Man in other Reſpects not notoriouſly debauched, but much given to the unlawful Love of young Men; he particularly loved one that was under his Command called *Trebonius*, with whom, notwithſtanding his many Sollicitations, he could never prevail; at length one Night he ſent a Meſſenger for him, and *Trebonius* came (for it was not lawful for him to refuſe when he was ſent for) and being brought into his Tent, as *Lucius* endeavoured to force him, he drew his Sword and ran him thorough. This was done whilſt *Marius* was abſent; who, when he returned, appointed *Trebonius* a time for his Tryal; where whilſt many accuſed him, and not any one appeared in his Defence, he himſelf with an undaunted Aſſurance related the whole matter, and brought Witneſs that he had often

*His Juſtice.*

*Trebonius.*

often reſiſted *Lucius*'s Importunity; and that though he had given him conſiderable Preſents, he had never conſented to him. *Marius* admiring, and very much pleaſed at it, commanded a Garland (the uſual Reward of Valour) to be brought, wherewith he himſelf crowned *Trebonius*; as having performed an excellent Action, at a time that very much wanted ſuch good Examples.

20. This being told at *Rome*, proved no ſmall help to *Marius* towards his Third Conſulſhip; to which alſo conduced the expectation of the *Barbarians* at that time of the Year, the People being unwilling to truſt their Fortunes with any other General but him: However their Arrival was not ſo ſudden as was imagined, but the time of *Marius*'s Third Conſulſhip was again expired. The Election coming on, and his Collegue being dead, he left the Command of the Army to *Manius Aquilius*; and haſtned to *Rome*, where ſeveral eminent Perſons being Candidates for the Conſulſhip, *Lucius Saturninus* (who more than any of the other Tribunes, ſwayed the Populace, and of whom *Marius* himſelf was very obſervant) made an Harangue to the People, adviſing them to chuſe *Marius* Conſul; but he ſeeming to decline the Office, as one pretending never to

*Marius's third Conſulſhip.*

to be ambitious of it, *Saturninus* call'd him Traytor to his Country, that in ſuch apparent Danger would deſert the War. And though it was not difficult to diſcover that he was aſſiſtant to *Marius* in putting this Sham upon the People; yet they conſidering, that the preſent Juncture very much requir'd his rough Diſcipline, and his good Fortune too, voted him the fourth time Conſul, and made *Catulus Lutatius* his Colleague, a Man very much eſteemed by the Nobility, and not unagreeable to the Commons.

*His fourth Conſulſhip.*

21. *Marius* having notice of the Enemy's Approach, with all Expedition paſſed the *Alps*, and pitching his Camp by the River *Rhone*, he took care firſt for plentiful Supplies of Victuals; leſt at any time he ſhould be forced to fight at a diſadvantage for want of Neceſſaries. The Carriage of Proviſion for the Army from the Sea, which was formerly long and chargeable, he made ſpeedy and eaſie; for the Mouth of the *Rhone*, by the Reflux of the Sea, being barred and almoſt fill'd up with Sand and Dirt, the Paſſage there became narrow, difficult, and dangerous for thoſe Ships that brought their Proviſions. Hither therefore bringing his Army then at leiſure, he drew a great Trench, and thereby turning the Courſe of a great part of the

*La Foſſe Mariane.*

the River, brought it to a convenient Haven, deep and fit to receive Ships of conſiderable Burthen, as alſo having a calm and eaſie opening to the Sea; and this ſtill retains the Name it took from him.

22. The Enemy dividing themſelves into two parts, the *Cimbri* choſe to go againſt *Catulus* higher up through the Country of the *Norici*, and to force that Paſſage. The *Teutones* and *Ambrones* to march againſt *Marius* by the Sea-ſide through *Liguria*, whereupon the *Cimbri* were longer before they arriv'd in *Italy*. The *Teutones* and *Ambrones* with all expedition paſſing over the interjacent Country, appeared to be an incredible Number, and of a terrible Aſpect, much different from all others in their ordinary Speech, and Shoutings, they taking up a great part of the Plain with their Camp, challenged *Marius* to Battel; he ſeemed to take no notice of them, but kept his Soldiers within their Fortifications, and ſharply reprehended thoſe that were of too forward and eager a Courage, and who would needs be fighting, calling them Traytors to their Country; and telling them they were not now in purſuit of the Glory of Triumphs and Trophies, but how they might repel ſuch an impetuous Tempeſt of War, and ſave *Italy*.

23. Thus

*Marius's Policy.*

23. Thus he diſcourſed privately with his Officers and Equals, but placed the Soldiers by turns upon the Bulwarks to ſurvey the Enemy, and ſo made them acquainted with their Shape and Voice (which were indeed altogether extravagant and barbarous) and he cauſed them to obſerve their Arms, and way of uſing them, ſo that in a little time what at firſt appeared terrible to their Apprehenſions, by often viewing became familiar; for he very rationally ſuppoſed, that the *ſtrangeneſs of Foreign things conduces very much to the rendring them formidable*; and that by our better Acquaintance with them, even thoſe things, which are naturally terrible, loſe very much of their frightfulneſs. Now this daily Converſe did not only diminiſh ſome of the Soldiers fear, but their Indignation warmed and inflamed their Courage, when they heard the Threats and inſupportable Inſolence of their Enemies; who not only plundered and depopulated all the Country round, but alſo with great Contempt and Reſolution threatned to ſtorm their Trenches.

*His Soldiers Complaints.*

24. Hereupon ſuch like Complaints of the Soldiers as theſe came to *Marius*'s Ears. *What Effeminacy does* Marius *ſee in us, that he ſhould thus like Women lock us up from encountering our Enemies? Come*

*Come on, let us ſhew our ſelves Men, and ask him if he expects any others that muſt fight for our Liberty: Shall he always employ us in ſervile Offices, when he would draw Trenches, cleanſe places of Mud and Dirt, and turn the courſe of Rivers? In ſuch Works as theſe, it ſeems, he will exerciſe us; then return home, and brag of theſe great performances of his Conſulſhips to the People. Or does the Defeat of* Carbo *and* Cæpio, *who were vanquiſhed by the Enemy, affright him? Surely they were much inferiour to* Marius *both in Glory and Valour, and commanded a much weaker Army; at the worſt it is better to be in Action, though we ſuffer for it like them, than to ſit idle Spectators of the deſtruction of our Allies and Companions.* *Marius* not a little pleaſed to hear this, gently appeaſed them, pretending that he did not diſtruſt their Valour, but that he took his Meaſures as to the time and place of Victory from ſome certain Oracles.

25. He uſed ſolemnly to carry about in a Litter, a *Syrian* Woman, called *Martha*, a ſuppoſed Propheteſs, and to do Sacrifice by her Directions. She had formerly been driven away from the Senate; to whom ſhe addreſſed her ſelf, offering to inform them about theſe Affairs, and to foretel future Events, whereupon ſhe betook her

Martha a Propheteſs.

ſelf to the Ladies, and gave ſome experiments of her Skill, eſpecially to *Marius*'s Wife; who ſitting to ſee the Gladiators combat, ſhe foretold which of them ſhould overcome; and was for this and the like Predictings ſent by her to *Marius*, and the Army, where ſhe was very much admired, and for the moſt part carried about in a Litter; when ſhe went to Sacrifice ſhe wore a purple Robe lined and buttoned up, and had in her hand a little Spear trimmed with Ribbans and Garlands. This Farce made many queſtion, whether *Marius* did really give any credit to her himſelf, or only play'd the Counterfeit when he ſhewed her publickly to impoſe upon the Soldiers.

*Vultures appear.*

26. But what *Alexander Mindius* relates about the Vultures, does really deſerve admiration; that always before his Victories there appeared two of them, and accompanied the Army; which were known by their brazen Collars (for the Soldiers, when they took them, put theſe about their Necks, and ſo let them go, whereupon they in a manner knew and ſaluted the Soldiers) and whenſoever theſe appeared in their Marches, they very much rejoyced as at an Omen of good Succeſs in that Expedition. But of the many Prodigies, that then were taken notice of, the reſt

*Other Prodigies.*

reſt were but of the ordinary ſtamp; as, that it was reported at *Ameria* and *Tudertum* (two Cities in *Italy*) there were ſeen at nights in the Sky, flaming Darts and Shields, now waved about, and then again claſhing againſt one another, reſembling thoſe poſtures and motions Soldiers uſe in their fighting; that at length one Party retreating, and the other purſuing, they all diſappeared Weſtward. Much about the ſame time came *Batabaces* one of *Cybele*'s Prieſts from *Peſſinunce*, and reported how the Goddeſs had declared to him by her Oracle, That the *Romans ſhould obtain the Victory*, and no ſmall Glory in this War. The Senate giving credit to him, and voting the Goddeſs a Temple to be built in hopes of a Victory; *Aulus Pompeius* a Tribune prevented *Batabaces*, when he would have gone and told the People this ſame Story, calling him Impoſtor, and ignominiouſly pulling him out of the *Roſtra*; which Action chiefly got Repute to the Fellow's Report; for *Aulus* had ſcarce diſſolved the Aſſembly, and returned home, when ſo violent a Feaver ſeized him, that it was notoriouſly known and in every bodies Mouth, that he died within a Week after. Batabaces.

27. Now the *Teutones*, whilſt *Marius* lay quiet, ventured to attack his Camp; from whence, being encountered with

ſhowers of Darts, and loſing ſeveral of their Men, they determined to march forward, hoping to recover the other ſide of the *Alps* without oppoſition, and packing up their Baggage, they paſſed ſecurely by the *Roman* Camp, where the greatneſs of their number chiefly appeared by the long time they took in their March; for they were ſaid to be ſix days continually going on in paſſing *Marius*'s Fortifications; they marched pretty near, and revilingly asked the *Romans*, if they would ſend any Recommendation by them to their Wives; for they would ſhortly be with them. As ſoon as the Enemy was gone by, and continued their Motion, *Marius* began to move, and follow them at his leiſure; always encamping at ſome ſmall diſtance from them; chuſing alſo convenient places for his Camp, and ſtrongly fortifying it, that he might quarter with the greater ſafety. Thus they marched till they came to *Aquæ-Sextiliæ*, whence the *Alps* were but little diſtant, where *Marius* put himſelf in readineſs for the Encounter.

28. He choſe a place for his Camp of conſiderable ſtrength, but where was ſcarcity of Water; deſigning (as was reported) by this means to put an edge on his Soldiers Courage, whereat when ſeveral were not a little grieved, and complained of

of Thirſt; he pointing to a River that ran near the Enemy's Camp: *There*, ſays he, *you may have Drink, but at the expence of your Blood. Why then*, replied they, *do you not lead us to them, that we may have ſomething that is liquid though it be Blood?* *But*, ſays he, in a ſofter tone, *Let's firſt fortifie our Camp*; whereupon the Soldiers for all their repining durſt not but obey. Now as a great company of their Boys and Pedees having neither drink for themſelves nor Horſes, went down to that River; ſome taking Axes, others Halberts, and ſome too Swords and Darts with their Pitchers, reſolved to have Water though they fought for it. Theſe were firſt encountred by a ſmall Party of the Enemies; for moſt of them were after bathing at dinner, and ſeveral were then too bathing themſelves (for the Country thereabouts abounds very much with hot Springs) ſo that the *Romans* fell upon them whilſt they were enjoying themſelves, and very much tranſported with the wonderful Pleaſantneſs of the Place. Upon hearing their ſhouts (more ſtill coming in) it was not a little difficult for *Marius* to contain his Soldiers, ſo much concerned for their Servants, and the more warlike part of the Enemies, who had overthrown *Mallius* and *Cæpio* (they were called *Ambrones*, and

*The Battel begun by Slaves.*

were in number one with another above 30000) taking the Alarm, ſtood to their Arms.

29. Theſe, though they had ſufficiently filled their Bellies, yet retained their Minds undiſturbed; and though they indulged themſelves even to Intemperance, yet did they not ruſh on like Mad-Men diſorderly or ſending forth confuſed Noiſes; but all of them dancing and claſhing their Arms in a kind of Conſort, often repeated their name *Ambrones*; either the better to encourage one another, or to ſtrike the greater Terrour into their Enemies. Of all the *Italians* in *Marius*'s Army, the *Ligurians* were the firſt that charged; and when they underſtood that the Enemy's confuſed Shout, was calling themſelves *Ambrones*, they alſo ecchoed the ſame word, which was an Ancient Name of their Country. This Acclamation, bandied from one Army to the other before they joyned, the more incenſed the *Germans*; ſo that their Officers on either ſide encouraging them, they ſtrove with all poſſible vehemence the one to overſhout the other, taking it mutually for an *Omen* of Victory, and a great Incentive of their Courage.

*The Fight:* 30. The River divided the *Ambrones*; and before they could draw up all their Army on the other ſide of it, the *Ligurians*

*ans* preſently fell upon the Van, and began to charge them hand to hand. The *Romans* too coming to their aſſiſtance, and from the higher ground pouring upon the Enemy, forceably repelled them, the moſt of them (one thruſting another into the River) were there ſlain, and filled it with their blood and dead Bodies. Thoſe that got ſafe over not daring to make head, the *Romans* ſlew as they fled to their Camp and Carriages; where the Women meeting them with Swords and Halberts, and making an hideous Out-cry, ſet upon thoſe that fled as well as thoſe that purſued; the one as Traitors, the other as Enemies; and mixing themſelves with the Soldiers, with their bare Arms pulling away the *Romans* Shields, and laying hold on their Swords, endured the wounds and ſlaſhing of their Bodies to the very laſt with undaunted Reſolution. Thus the Battel ſeems to have hapned at that River rather by Accident than by the Deſign of the General.

31. After the *Romans* were retreated from the great ſlaughter of the *Ambrones*, Night came on; but the Army was not careſſed as it uſed to be, with Songs of Victory, drinking in their Tents, and kind mutual Entertainments, and (what is moſt welcome to Soldiers after an happy Conqueſt) quiet ſleep: but they paſſed that

night chiefly in Fears and Tumul s; for their *Camp was without Fortifications and Trenches*, and there remained ſeveral thouſands of their Enemies as yet unconquered; to whom were joyned as many of the *Ambrones* as eſcaped. There were heard at night ſad Mournings, nothing like the ſighs and groans of Men; but a kind of ſavage howling and roaring, joyned with threats and lamentations, proceeded from ſo great a multitude, which the neighbouring Hills and hollow Caves of the River ecchoed about, and filled the whole Plain with an hideous noiſe; inſomuch that the *Romans* were not a little afraid; and *Marius* himſelf was aſtoniſhed with apprehenſion of a confuſed tumultuous night-engagement. But they did not ſtir this night or the next day, but were employed in conſultation how to diſpoſe and draw themſelves up to the greater advantage.

32. Of this occaſion *Marius* made good uſe; for there were beyond the Enemies ſome woody Cliffs and Vallies well ſhaded with Trees, whither he ſent *Claudius Marcellus* very ſecretly with 3000 Soldiers, giving him orders to poſt them in ambuſh there, and ſhew themſelves at the Rear of the Enemies, when the Fight was begun; the others whom he had refreſhed with Victuals and Sleep, as ſoon as it was day he

he drew up before the Camp, and commanded the Horſe to march into the Plain, which the *Teutones* perceiving, could not contain themſelves till the *Romans* ſhould come down and fight them on equal terms; but haſtily arming themſelves, they inconſiderately ran towards a Hill hard by, where the *Romans* were drawn up. *Marius* ſending Officers to all Parts, commanded his Men to ſtand ſtill and keep their Ground; when they came within reach, to throw their Piles, then uſe their Swords, and joyning their Shields, repel the Enemy; for he ſhewed that the ſteepneſs of the Ground rendred the Enemies Charge infirm, and abated the force of their blows; nor could their Shields be joyned cloſe together, the inequality of the Ground hindering the ſtability of their Bodies.

33. This Counſel he gave them, and was obſerved to be the firſt that followed it; for he was inferior to none in the exerciſe of his Body, and far excelled them all in Reſolution. Wherefore the *Romans* vigorouſly oppoſed, and by that means forced them to retreat from the Hill; the *Ambrones*, as ſoon as they had put their Van in a poſture of reſiſtance, found thoſe in the Rear very much diſordered: for *Marcellus* had not let ſlip the opportunity, but as ſoon as the Shout was raiſed among the

*The ſecond Battel.*

the *Romans* on the Hills, he encouraging his Men, fell in upon the Enemy behind, and running and ſhouting routed thoſe neareſt him; and they breaking the Ranks of thoſe that were before them, the whole Army was immediately filled with Confuſion; they made no long Reſiſtance after they were thus broke in upon, but having loſt all Order, fled.

34. The *Romans* purſuing them, ſlew and took Priſoners above 100000, and poſſeſſing themſelves of their Spoil, Tents, and Carriages, voted as many of them as were not Purloin'd, to *Marius*'s Share, which, though ſo Magnificent a Preſent, yet was generally thought leſs than his Conduct deſerved in ſo great a Danger. Other Authors do not agree about the diviſion of the Plunder and number of the Slain. They ſay, the Inhabitants of *Maſſilia* hedged in their Vineyards with the Bones, and that the Ground enrich'd by the moiſture of the putrified Bodies (which was ſoaked in with the Rain of the following Winter) yielded at the Seaſon a prodigious Crop, which ſeems to confirm *Archilochus*'s Relation, who ſaid, that *the Fallows were fatted by them.* Now it is an Obſervation not improbable, that extraordinary Rains uſually fall after great Battels; whether it be, that ſome Deity waſheth and cleanſeth the polluted

luted Earth with Showers from above, or that Blood and Corruption ſteaming forth a moiſt and groſs Vapour, thicken the Air, which by reaſon of its Tenuity is ſubject to Alteration ariſing generally from the ſmalleſt Cauſes.

35. After the Battel, *Marius* choſe out from amongſt the *Barbarians* Spoils and Arms, thoſe that were whole and handſome, and that would make the greateſt ſhew in his Triumph; the reſt he heaped upon a large Pile, and offered a very ſplendid Sacrifice. Whilſt the Army ſtood round about with their Arms and Garlands, himſelf attired (as the Faſhion is on ſuch Occaſions) in a Puple Robe, taking a lighted Torch, and with both Hands lifting it up towards Heaven, was then going to put it to the Pile, when ſome of his Friends were eſpied with all haſte coming towards him on Horſe-back; whereupon every one remain'd in great Silence and Expectation: When they came near, they alighting, ſaluted *Marius*, and bringing him the News of his Fifth Conſulſhip, deliver'd him Letters to the ſame purpoſe. This gave the addition of no ſmall Joy to the Solemnity, which the Army expreſs'd in a warlike kind of Rejoicing and Acclamations, and the Officers again crowning *Marius* with a Lawrel-wreath, he ſet fire to the Pile, and finiſhed his Sacrifice.

*Marius's Fifth Conſulſhip.*

36. But

36. But whatever it be, which permits us not the enjoyment of Prosperity pure and sincere, but still interchanges human Affairs with the mixture of good and bad, whether Fortune or Providence, or the necessity of the Nature of Things, within a few days *Marius* received an account of his Collegue *Catulus*, which as another Cloud in this Serenity and Calm terrified *Rome* with the apprehension of an eminent Storm. *Catulus*, who marched against the *Cimbri*, despairing of being able to defend the tops of the *Alps*; lest, being compelled to divide his Forces into several Parties, he should very much weaken himself, with all expedition returned to *Italy*, and posted his Army by the River *Athesis*; where blocking up the Passages on both sides the River with strong Fortifications, he made a Bridge, that so he might go to their assistance that were on the other side, if so be the Enemy having forced the narrow Passages, should storm the Fortresses. The *Barbarians* came on with such Insolence and Contempt of their Enemies, that to shew their Strength and Courage, rather than out of any necessity, they went naked in the showers of Snow, and through the Ice and deep Snow climbed up to the tops of the Hills, and from thence placing their broad Shields under their

their bodies, let themſelves ſlide from the Precipices along their vaſt ſlippery Deſcents.

27. When they had pitched their Camp at a little diſtance from the River, and ſurveyed the Paſſage, they began to caſt up their Banks, Giant-like, tearing up the neighbouring Hills; and brought Trees pulled up by the roots, and heaps of Earth to the River, therewith damming up its courſe, and with great heavy Materials rolled down the Stream and daſhed againſt the Bridge, they forced away the Planks which ſupported it; whereat the greateſt part of the *Roman* Soldiers very much affrighted, left their Camp and fled. Here did *Catulus* ſhew himſelf a generous indulgent General, in preferring the Glory of his People before his own: for when he could not prevail with his Soldiers to ſtand to their Colours, but ſaw how cowardly they all deſerted them; he commanded his own Standard to be taken up, and running to the formoſt of thoſe that fled, he led them forward, chuſing rather that the diſgrace ſhould fall upon himſelf than his Country; and that they ſhould not ſeem to fly, but following their Captain, to make a Retreat. The *Barbarians* aſſaulted and took the Fortreſs on the other ſide *Atheſis*; where admiring at the few *Romans* there left; who

who had ſhewn themſelves of an extreme great Courage, and had fought worthy their Country, they diſmiſſed them with an eaſie Compoſition, ſwearing them upon their Brazen Bull; which was afterwards taken in the Battel, and, they ſay, carried to *Catulus*'s Houſe, as the chief Trophy of the Victory.

38. Thus falling in upon the Country, deſtitute of Defence, they waſted it extremely, whereupon *Marius* was preſently ſent for to the City; where when he arrived, every one ſuppoſing he would Triumph, the Senate too unanimouſly voting it, he himſelf did not think it convenient; whether that he were not willing to deprive his Soldiers and Officers of their Share of the Glory; or that, to encourage the People in this Juncture, he would make the Honour of his Victory give place to the preſent Fortune of the City; deferring it now to receive it afterwards with the greater Splendor. Having left ſuch Orders as the Occaſion required, he haſtened to *Catulus*, whoſe drooping Spirits he very much raiſed, and ſent for his Army from *Gallia*: As ſoon as it came, he paſſing the River *Po*, endeavoured to drive the *Barbarians* out of that part of *Italy* which lies South of it.

39. But

39. But they pretending they were in expectation of the *Teutones*, and wondering they were ſo long in coming, deferred the Battel; either that they were really ignorant of their Defeat, or at leaſt were willing to ſeem ſo (for they very much abuſed thoſe that brought them ſuch News) and ſending to *Marius*, required ſome part of the Country for them and their Brethren, and Cities fit for them to inhabit. When *Marius* enquired of the Ambaſſadors who their Brethren were, and they calling them *Teutones*, all that were preſent fell out a Laughing; but *Marius* Scoffingly anſwered them, *Do not trouble your ſelves for your Brethren, for we have already provided Lands for them, which they ſhall poſſeſs for ever.* The Ambaſſadors perceiving the jeer, railed at him, and threatned that the *Cimbri* would make him ſmart for it, and the *Teutones* too when they came. *And they are not far off*, replied *Marius*, *it will be very unkindly done of you to go away before you have taken leave of your Brethren*; ſaying ſo, he commanded the Kings of the *Teutones* to be brought out, as they were, in Chains; for they were taken by the *Sequani* before they could make their Eſcape from the *Alps*. This was no ſooner made known to the *Cimbri*, but they with all Expedition

dition came againſt *Marius*, who then lay ſtill and guarded his Camp.

*He allows the faſhion of the Piles.*

40. 'Tis ſaid, that againſt this Battel *Marius* firſt made their Javelins after a new faſhion; for before at the place where the Wood was joyned to the Iron, it was made faſt with two Iron-pins; now *Marius* let one of them alone as it was, and pulling out the other put a weak wooden peg in its place; contriving it ſo, that when it was ſtuck in the Enemy's Shield, it ſhould not ſtand right out; but the wooden peg breaking, the Iron ſhould bend, and ſo the Pile ſticking faſt by its crooked point, ſhould weigh down the Shield. Now

Bæorix.

*Bæorix*, King of the *Cimbri*, came with a ſmall Party of Horſe to the *Roman* Camp, and challenged *Marius* to appoint the time and place where they might meet and fight for the Country. *Marius* anſwered, *That the* Romans *never conſulted their Enemies when to fight, however he would gratifie the* Cimbri *ſo far*; and ſo they pitched upon the third day after; for the Place, the Plain near *Vercellæ*; which was convenient enough for the *Roman* Horſe, and afforded room for the Enemy to diſplay their Numbers.

41. They obſerved the time appointed, and drew out their Forces againſt each other. *Catulus* commanded 20300, and *Marius* 32000, who were placed in the two

two Wings, leaving to *Catulus* the Main Battel. *Sylla*, who was preſent at the Fight, gives this Relation, ſaying withal, that *Marius* drew up his Army in this Order, out of malice to *Catulus*; for he hoped, with his Wings ſtretched out farther, to fall in upon the Body of the Enemies Army [it being cuſtomary in that manner of embattelling, that the Army ſhould repreſent a Creſcent; the two extream Points much advancing, and the main Battel remaining behind] and to rout them, before *Catulus* and his Army ſhould be able to charge them. They obſerve likewiſe, that *Catulus* himſelf alledgeth this in vindication of his Honour, accuſing this Enviouſneſs of *Marius*. The Infantry of the *Cimbri* marched quietly out of their Trenches, having their Flanks equal to their Front; (every ſide of the Army took up thirty furlongs) their Horſe, that were in number 15000, made a very ſpendid appearance. They wore Helmets, whereon were the gapings of wild Beaſts, and other ſtrange ſhapes, which they heightning with Plumes of Feathers, appeared greater than they were; they had on Breaſt-plates of Iron, and white glittering Shields; and for their offenſive Arms, every one had two-edged Darts, and when they came hand to hand, they uſed great and heavy Swords.

42. They did not fall directly upon the Front of the *Romans*, but turning to the right, they endeavoured to encloſe them by little and little, getting the Enemy between them and their Infantry, who were placed in the left Wing. The *Roman* Commanders ſoon perceived the Deſign, but could not contain the Soldiers: for one happ'ning to ſhout out, that the Enemy fled, they all haſtned to purſue them; whereupon the *Barbarian* Foot came on moving like a great Ocean. Here *Marius*, having waſhed his hands, and lifting them up towards Heaven, vowed an *Hecatomb* to the Gods; and *Catulus* too in the ſame poſture ſolemnly promiſed to conſecrate a Temple to the Fortune of that Day: they ſay that *Marius* having the Victim ſhewed to him, as he was ſacrificing, cried out with a loud voice, *The Victory is mine.*

43. However in the Engagement, they that write *Sylla*'s Life, ſay, that *Marius* was very unfortunate; for a great Duſt being raiſed, which (as it might very probably happen) almoſt covered both the Armies; he, as ſoon as he had charged them, leading his Forces to the purſuit, miſſed of the Enemy; and having paſſed by their Army, for a good ſpace wandered up and down the Field; mean while the Enemy by

by chance engaged with *Catulus*; and the heat of the Battel was chiefly with him and his Men, among whom *Sylla* ſays he was. The *Romans* had great advantage of the heat and Sun that ſhone in the faces of the *Cimbri*; for they, though very well able to endure cold, as having been bred up in cool and ſhady places, (as we obſerved before) were yet overcome with the exceſſive Heat: they ſweat extreamly, and were much out of breath, being forced to hold their Shields before their Faces; for this Battel was fought not long after the Summer Solſtice; or, as the *Romans* reckon, about the third of the Calends of *Auguſt*, then called *Sextilis*. The Duſt too gave no ſmall addition to their Courage, in as much as it hid the Enemy, for they could not afar off diſcover their number; but every one advancing to encounter thoſe that were neareſt to them, they were come to fight hand-to-hand before the ſight of ſo vaſt a multitude had ſtruck terror into them.

44. The *Romans* were ſo much uſed to labour, and ſo well exerciſed, that in all the heat and toil of the Encounter, not one of them was obſerved either to ſweat, or to be out of breath, inſomuch that they ſay *Catulus* recorded it in commendation of his Soldiers. Here the greateſt part

*The Romans well exerciſed.*

and moſt valiant of the Enemies were cut in pieces; for thoſe that fought in the Front, that they ſhould not break their Ranks, were faſt tied to one another with long Chains put through their Belts. As they purſued thoſe that fled to their Camp, they met with a moſt horrid Tragedy; the Women ſtanding in Mourning by their Carriages, ſlew all that fled; ſome their Husbands, ſome their Brethren, others their Fathers; and ſtrangling their little Children with their own hands, threw them under the Wheels, and Horſes feet, and then killed themſelves. They tell of one that was hanging on the very top of a Waggon, with her Children tied dangling at her heels; the Men for want Trees, tied themſelves, ſome to the horns of the Oxen, the necks of others were faſtned to their legs, that ſo pricking them on, by the ſtarting and ſpringing of the Beaſts, they might be torn and trodden to pieces. Yet for all they thus maſſacred themſelves, above 60000 were taken Priſoners, and thoſe that were ſlain were ſaid to be twice as many.

*The* Cimbrian *Womens cruelty.*

45. The ordinary Plunder *Marius*'s Soldiers forcibly took away; but the other Spoils, as Enſigns, Trumpets, and the like, they ſay, were brought to *Catulus*'s Camp, which he uſed for the beſt Argument

ment that the Victory was obtained by himſelf and his Army. Whereupon ſome Diſſentions ariſing (as it often happens) among the Soldiers, the Ambaſſadors from *Parma* being then preſent, were made Judges of the Controverſie; whom *Catulus*'s Men carried about among their ſlain Enemies, and manifeſtly ſhewed them that they were ſlain by their *Piles*, which were known by the Inſcriptions, having *Catulus*'s Name cut in the Wood: nevertheleſs the whole Glory of the Action was aſcribed to *Marius*, by reaſon of his former Victory, and under colour of his preſent Authority. The Populace more eſpecially ſtiling him the *third Founder of their City*, as having diverted a danger no leſs threatning than was that when the *Gauls* ſacked *Rome*; and every one rejoycing at home with his Wife and Children, ſacrificed to the Gods and to *Marius*; and would have had him ſolely to have the honour of both the Triumphs. However he would not do ſo, but Triumphed together with *Catulus*; being deſirous to ſhew his Moderation even in ſo great Circumſtances of good Fortune; beſides, he was not a little afraid of the Soldiers in *Catulus*'s Army, leſt if he ſhould wholly bereave their General of the Honour, they ſhould endeavour to hinder him of his Triumph.

Marius *and* Catulus *Triumph.*

*How Marius got his ſixth Conſulſhip.*

46. *Marius* was now in his Fifth Conſulſhip, and he ſued for the Sixth in ſuch a manner as never any before him had done; he took the People by the hand, and ingratiated himſelf with the Multitude by his Complaiſance, thereby not only derogating from the Publick Grandeur and Majeſty of his Office, but acting alſo contrary to his own Inclination, that ſo he might ſeem popular and obliging, for which Nature had never deſigned him. He was, they ſay, exceeding timorous through his Ambition in any buſineſs which concerned the Government, or was handled in Publick Aſſemblies; and that undaunted Preſence of Mind he always ſhewed in Battel againſt the Enemy, forſook him when he was to Harangue the People; being one that was apt to ſhew very great Concern either at their commendation or diſpraiſe. 'Tis reported, that having at one time made free of the City 1000 men of *Camerino*, who had behaved themſelves valiantly in this War; and this ſeeming to be illegally done, ſome or other calling him to an account for it, he anſwered, that the Law ſpake too ſoftly to be heard in ſuch a noiſe of War: however he himſelf appeared to be more concerned and aſtoniſhed at that noiſe which was made by the Aſſemblies. The need they

they had of him in time of War procured him his Wealth and Dignity; but in Civil Affairs when he deſpaired of getting the firſt place, he was forced to betake himſelf to the favour of the People, never regarding to be a good Man, ſo that he were but a great One.

47. Whereupon he became very odious to all the Nobility, and eſpecially fearing *Metellus*, who had been ſo ingratefully uſed by him; and who, being truly virtuous, was naturally an Enemy to thoſe that managed the People, not for the publick Good, but for their private Pleaſure. *Marius* therefore endeavoured to baniſh him the City, and to this purpoſe he contracted a familiar Acquaintance with *Glaucius* and *Saturninus*, a couple of daring reſolute Fellows, who had a great company of poor ſeditious People at their beck; by their aſſiſtance he enacted certain Laws, and gathering ſome Soldiers, he placed them in the Aſſembly, and by this Faction oppreſſed *Metellus*. And as *Rutilius* relates (in all other reſpects a faithful and authentick Hiſtorian, but indeed privately an Enemy to *Marius*) he obtained his Sixth Conſulſhip, by diſtributing vaſt Sums of Mony among their Tribes, and ſo too bought their Votes to put by *Metellus* from the Office, and to elect *Valeri-*

*His Faction with* Glaucias *and* Saturninus.

*us Flaccus* his Inſtrument rather than his Collegue in the Conſulſhip. The People had never before beſtowed ſo many Conſulſhips on any one Man, except on *Valerius Corvinus* only; and he too, they ſay, was forty five years between his firſt and laſt; but *Marius* from his firſt ran through five more with one puſh of his good Fortune.

48. In the laſt of which eſpecially he contracted a great deal of hatred, by committing ſeveral groſs Miſdemeanours in compliance with the irregular deſires of *Saturninus*; among which was the Murther of *Nonius* *, whom *Saturninus*, becauſe he ſtood in competition with him for the Tribuneſhip, ſlew; and afterwards being Tribune, made a Law about the diviſion of Lands and Fields, wherein it was provided that the Senate ſhould come and ſwear to confirm whatever the People ſhould vote, and not to appoſe them in any thing. *Marius* in the Senate cunningly feigned to be againſt this Clauſe of the Law, and ſaid, that he would not take any ſuch Oath, nor any eiſe, he thought, that were wiſe; for if there were no ill Deſign in the Law, it would be an affront to the Senate to be compelled to give their approbation, and not to do it rather willingly or by perſwaſion. This he ſaid, not

* Ὁ Νόνιος ἐνθα, *ſeems to be a miſtake for* Νούιος.

not that it was agreeable to his own Sentiments, but that he might thereby entangle *Metellus* in an unavoidable ſnare; for making a great part of his Virtue and Gravity to conſiſt in Deceit, he made very little account of what he had openly profeſſed to the Senate; he knowing too that *Metellus* was one of a fixed Reſolution, and (as *Pindar* has it) that eſteemed *Truth the greateſt Principle of Heroick Virtue*, deſigned by this his Refuſal of the Oath in the Senate to enſnare him, by making him refuſe the Law alſo; and thereby to caſt ſuch an *Odium* upon him with the People, as ſhould never be wiped off. Which accordingly ſucceeded to his wiſh; for as ſoon as *Metellus* had declared that he would not ſwear to it, the Senate adjourned. *His Deſign to entrap Metellus.*

49. Within a few days *Saturninus* citing the Senators to make their appearance, and preſſing them to take the Oath, *Marius* ſtepped forth, (whereupon was a profound ſilence, and every one very intent upon him) and bidding farewel to thoſe fine ſmooth Speeches he had before made in the Senate, ſaid; That he was not grown ſo obſtinate as to do any thing to the prejudice of ſo good a Deſign; but would willingly ſwear and ſubmit to the Law, if ſo be it were one (which Caution

on he added as a Pretext for his Impudence.) The People extreamly pleaſed at his taking the Oath, mightily extolled and applauded him; the Nobility were very much aſhamed and vexed at *Marius*'s Inconſtancy, but they were forced, for fear of the People, to ſwear in order till it came to *Metellus*'s turn. But he, though his Friends followed and entreated him to take the Oath, and not to plunge himſelf irrecoverably into thoſe Penalties which *Saturninus* had provided for them that would not take it, would not flinch from his Reſolution, nor ſwear; but according to his uſual cuſtom, being ready to ſuffer any thing rather than do a baſe unworthy Action, left the *Forum*, telling them that were with him; *That it was baſe to do any thing that is ill, and common to do well, where there is no danger; but where there is, even in deſpite of that to do well, was the Property of a good Man.*

50. Hereupon *Saturninus* put it to the Vote, that the Conſuls ſhould declare *Metellus* baniſhed, and that none ſhould entertain him; there was enough too of the baſeſt of People ready to kill him: and when many of the better ſort were extreamly concerned for, and gathered about *Metellus*, he would not ſuffer them to raiſe a Sedition upon his account; but more

more adviſedly left the City, ſaying; *Either when the poſture of Affairs is mended, and the People repent, I ſhall be recalled; or if things remain in the preſent poſture, it will be beſt to be abſent.* But how great Favour and Honour *Metellus* received in his Baniſhment, and after what manner he ſpent his time at *Rhodes* in Philoſophy, we ſhall more opportunely ſhew you when we write his Life.

51. *Marius*, for this piece of Service done him, forced to connive at *Saturninus*, now arrived at the very height of Inſolence and Force, had unawares occaſioned ſuch a flame as could not now be eaſily quenched, but by Outrages and Maſſacres directly tended to Tyranny and the Subverſion of the Government: for ſtanding in ſome awe of the Nobility, and withal flattering the Commonalty, he did a very cowardly and diſhoneſt Action. When ſome of the great Men came to him at night to ſtir him up againſt *Saturninus*, he let him in unknown to them at the other door; then making the ſame pretences of doing his neceſſary occaſions to both, he ran from one Party to the other, and ſtaying one while with them and another with him, he inſtigated and exaſperated them one againſt another. At length, when both the Senate and Equeſtrian Order

*His double dealing with the Senate and Commons.*

*der* agreed together, and ſhewed their reſentment at it, he filled the Market-place with Soldiers; and by cutting off the *Aqueducts*, he forced thoſe that retreated to the Capitol to ſurrender for want of Water: they in this diſtreſs ſubmitted themſelves upon the Publick Faith, whom he endeavoured all ways imaginable to preſerve, but without Succeſs; for when they came into the *Forum*, they were all baſely murthered. Hereupon equally odious both to the Nobility and Commons, when the time was come to create Cenſors, though he were the moſt likely Man, yet he did not petition for it; but fearing the diſgrace of being repulſed, permitted others his Inferiors to be elected; yet he pleaſed himſelf in giving out, that he was not willing to diſoblige too many by a ſevere inſpection into their Lives and Converſations.

*Why he was not Candidate for the Cenſorſhip.*

52. There was now an Edict preferring to recal *Metellus* from Baniſhment; this he vigorouſly, but in vain, oppoſed both in his Diſcourſe and Actions: yet at length deſiſted; for the People unanimouſly voting for it, and he not able to endure the ſight of *Metellus*'s Return, made a Voyage to *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*; giving out that he was to perform ſome Sacrifices, which he had vowed to *Cybele*; but had

had indeed another reaſon for his departure, which was not to be diſcovered to the People. He being one altogether ignorant of Civility and State-Affairs, had received all his advancement from the War; and then too ſuppoſing both his Power and Glory would by little and little decreaſe by his lying quiet and out of Action, ſought by all means to lay the Foundation of ſome new Commotions, and hoped too that by ſetting at variance ſome of the neighbour Kings, and by ſtirring up and exaſperating *Mithridates* eſpecially, who was then apparently making Preparations for War, he himſelf ſhould be choſen General againſt him, and ſo furniſh the City with new matter of Triumph, and his own Houſe with the Plunder of *Pontus*, and the Riches of its King. Wherefore, though *Mithridates* had entertained him with all imaginable obligingneſs and reſpect, yet he was not at all wrought upon or ſoftned by it; but ſaid, *O King! either endeavour to be indeed more potent than the* Romans, *or elſe quietly ſubmit to their Commands*. With which he almoſt aſtoniſhed him, having indeed often heard the Fame of the bold ſpeaking of the *Romans*, but was now firſt acquainted with that Impudence.

*His Impudence to* Mithridaates.

53. When *Marius* returned again to *Rome*,

*Rome*, he built an Houſe cloſe by the Market-place, either (as he himſelf gave out) that he was not willing his Clients ſhould be tired with going far, or that he imagined it would cauſe the greater Concourſe at his Gates: yet this was not the true Reaſon neither; but becauſe being inferior to others in obliging Converſation and the Arts of Courtſhip, like a meer Tool and Implement of War, he was thrown aſide in time of Peace. Amongſt all thoſe, whoſe Brightneſs eclipſed his Glory, he was moſt extreamly incenſed againſt *Sylla*, who had received his Riſe from the hatred which the Nobility bore *Marius*; and had made his diſagreement with him the firſt ſtep of his Preferment. When *Bocchus* King of *Numidia*, who was ſtiled the *Aſſociate of the Romans*, dedicated ſome Trophies of Victory in the *Capitol*, and by them the Picture of himſelf in Gold delivering *Jugurtha* to *Sylla*: *Marius* upon this was almoſt diſtracted with Rage and Ambition (as though *Sylla* had arrogated this Honour to himſelf) and endeavoured forcibly to pull down theſe Preſents: *Sylla* on the other ſide as vigorouſly reſiſted him, but the War of the Confederates then on a ſudden threatning the City, put a ſtop to this Sedition juſt ready to break out. Now the moſt warlike and beſt

*His diſpute with* Sylla.

*The Confederates War.*

beſt peopled Countries of all *Italy* conſpired together againſt *Rome*, and were within a little of ſubverting the Empire; their chief Strength conſiſting not only in their *Weapons* and the *Valour of their Soldiers*; but ſtanding upon equal terms with the *Romans*, as to the *Courage and Sufficiency of their Commanders*.

54. This War ſo various as to its Encounters, and ſo uncertain as to its Succeſs, what Glory and Power it conferred upon *Sylla*, of ſo much it deprived *Marius*, who ſeemed not to be very brisk in his Charges, but was for the moſt part guilty of Delays, Retreats, and almoſt Cowardiſe; whether it were, that his Age had quenched that heat and vigour he was formerly Maſter of (for he was now above 65 years old;) or that, as he himſelf ſaid, having ſome diſtemper in his Nerves, and his Body unfit for Action, he had for meer ſhame ventured upon ſome Expeditions above his ſtrength. Yet for all this he came off Victor in a conſiderable Battel, wherein he ſlew 6000 of the Enemies, and never gave them any advantage over him. Nay, though he was once ſurrounded by the Works of the Enemy, he contained himſelf; and though inſulted over, braved, and challenged, yet he ſeemed not much concerned at it. There goes a report, that when

* *Or* Popedius.

when one * *Publius Silo*, a Man of the greateſt Worth and Authority among the Enemies, ſaid to him; *If thou beeſt that great Captain* Marius, *come to a Battel*; he anſwered, *If you be ſuch an one, force me to fight.* And another time, when the Enemy gave them a good opportunity of a Battel; and the *Romans* through fear durſt not charge, ſo that both Parties retreated; he called an Aſſembly of his Soldiers, and ſaid; *It is no ſmall queſtion whether I ſhould call the Enemies or you the greater Cowards, for neither dare they face your Backs nor you theirs.*

55. At length pretending to be worn out with the Infirmity of his Body, he laid down his Command. Afterwards when the *Italians* were worſted, ſeveral at *Rome*, by the Intereſt of thoſe that led the People, ſued for Employment in the War with *Mithridates*. *Sulpitius* Tribune of the People, a bold reſolute Fellow, contrary to every body's expectation bringing in *Marius*, declared him Proconſul and General in that War; whereupon the People were divided, ſome were on *Marius*'s ſide, others voted for *Sylla*; and jeeringly bad *Marius* go to his Baths at *Baiæ* to cure his Body worn out, as himſelf confeſſed, with Age and Catarrhs. Now *Marius* had indeed there, about *Miſenum*, a *Villa* more effeminately

effeminately and luxuriouſly furniſhed than became a Man employed in ſo many and great Wars and Expeditions. This ſame Houſe *Cornelia* bought for 75000 *Denarii*, and not long after *Lucius Lucullus* for 250000: in ſo ſhort a time did the Luxury and Effeminacy of the *Romans* increaſe. After all this, *Marius* very ambitiouſly and childiſhly affecting to ſhake off his Age and Weakneſs, went into the Field, where exerciſing himſelf with the Youth, he ſhewed himſelf ſtill nimble in his Armour, and expert in Riding, though indeed he were grown leſs active in his Age by reaſon of his great Belly, and his inclining to Fatneſs and Corpulency.

Marius *affects to be thought young.*

56. Theſe Actions of his pleaſed ſome, that went to ſee his Vain-glory in thoſe Juſts and Exerciſes; but the better ſort that ſaw him, pitied his Avarice and Ambition, that from a Beggar growing ſo extreamly rich, and from nothing becoming ſo great, would know no bounds of his good Fortune, nor be content with being admired, and quietly enjoy what he had already got; but, as if he ſtill were in extream Poverty, ſhould at ſo great an Age leave Glory and Triumphs to go into *Cappadocia* and the *Euxine* Sea, to fight *Archilaus* and *Neoptolemus*, *Mithridates*'s Generals. *Marius*'s pretences for this Action

of his ſeemed very ridiculous; for he ſaid he had a mind himſelf to educate his Son in that War. This ſoon ruined the City, which had been a long time ſick of ſuch Practices, when *Marius* had once found ſo opportune an Inſtrument for the publick deſtruction as *Sulpitius*'s Inſolence.

Sulpitius's *Riot.*

57. This Fellow in all other reſpects admired and imitated *Saturninus*; only found fault with his Cowardiſe and backwardneſs in his Deſigns; he therefore made no ſuch fooliſh delays, but got 600 Horſe about him as his Guard, which he named *Anti-Senators*; with theſe Aſſaſſines he ſet upon the Conſuls whilſt they were at the Aſſembly, and took the Son of one of them, who fled from the Market-place, and ſlew him. *Sylla* being hotly purſued, took into *Marius*'s Houſe, which none could ſuſpect (by that means eſcaping thoſe that ſought him, who haſtily paſſed by there) and it is ſaid was ſafely conveyed by *Marius* himſelf out at the other door, and came to the Camp. Yet *Sylla* in his Memoirs poſitively denies that he fled to *Marius*, but that he was carried thither to conſult of thoſe matters, to which *Sulpitius* would have forced him againſt his Will to conſent; that he, ſurrounding him with drawn Swords, hurried

ried him to *Marius*, and reſtrained him thus, till he ſhould go thence to the Market-place, and put ſuch a Concluſion to theſe Affairs as his Maſters the People would approve.

58. Whilſt theſe things were acting, *Sulpitius* having obtained the ſole Power, decreed the Command of the Army to *Marius*; who making preparations for his march, ſent two Tribunes to receive the charge of the Army from *Sylla*. *Sylla* hereupon exaſperating his Soldiers (which were ſix Legions, or about 5000 Horſe, and 30000 Foot) brought them to *Rome*, who firſt falling upon the Tribunes *Marius* had ſent, ſlew them; and *Marius* did as much for ſeveral of *Sylla*'s Friends in *Rome*, and made many of the Slaves free, that he might have their aſſiſtance in the War; whereof, they ſay, there were but three that anſwered his expectation. He, for ſome ſmall time, made head againſt *Sylla*'s aſſault, but was ſoon over-powered and fled: thoſe that were with him, as ſoon as he had eſcaped out of the City, were diſperſed, and Night coming on, he haſt'ned to a Country-houſe of his called *Solonium*. Hence he ſent his Son to ſome neighbouring Farms of his Father-in-Law *Mutius*, to provide Neceſſaries; himſelf went to *Oſtia*, where his Friend *Numerius* had

Sylla *drives* Marius *from* Rome.

prepared him a Ship, and not ſtaying for his Son, he took with him his Son-in-law *Granius*, and weighed Anchor.

*Young Marius's eſcape.*

59. Young *Marius*, as ſoon as he came to *Mutius*'s Farms, and had ordered ſome ſmall matters, the day breaking, he was almoſt diſcovered by the Enemy; for there came thither a Party of Horſe that ſuſpected ſome ſuch matter; whom when the Steward perceived, he hid *Marius* in a Cart full of Beans, then putting to his Team, and driving toward the City, he met thoſe that were in ſearch of him. *Marius* thus conveyed home to his Wife, took with him ſome Neceſſaries, and came at Night to the Sea-ſide, where going on board a Ship that was bound for *Africk*, he went away with it. *Marius* the Father, when he had put to Sea, with a good Gale paſſing along the Coaſt of *Italy*, was in no ſmall apprehenſions of one *Geminius*, a great Man at *Tarracina*, and his Enemy; and therefore bad the Sea-men hold off from that place: they were indeed willing to gratifie him, but the Wind riſing at Sea, and making the Waves ſwell to a great height, they were afraid the Ship would not be able to weather out the Storm; *Marius* too being indiſpoſed and Sea-ſick, they with great difficulty reached the Haven at *Circæum*.

60. The

60. The Storm now increaſing, and their Victuals failing, they put to Shore, and wandered up and down they knew not whither (as it uſually happens in great Diſtreſs;) they always ſhun the Preſent as the greateſt Evil, and relie upon the hopes of Uncertainties; for the Land and Sea were both equally unſafe for them, it was dangerous to meet with People, and it was no leſs ſo to meet with none, by reaſon of their want of Neceſſaries. At length, though late firſt, they light upon a few poor Shepherds, that had not any thing to relieve them; but knowing *Marius*, adviſed him to depart as ſoon as might be, for they had ſeen a little beyond that place a Party of Horſe that were gone in ſearch of him. Whereupon finding himſelf in a great ſtraight, eſpecially becauſe thoſe that attended him were not able to go farther, being ſpent with their long faſting; he turned aſide out of the Road, and hid himſelf in a thick Wood, where he paſſed the Night in great diſtreſs. The next day pinched with Hunger, and willing to make uſe of the little ſtrength he had, before it were all exhauſted, he travelled by the Sea-ſide, encouraging his Companions not to deſert him in the laſt of his hopes, for which he reſerved himſelf, relying on the credit of ſome old Prophecies. Marius's *diſtreſs.*

*His good Hopes.*

61. That when he was yet but very young and lived in the Country, he brought home in the skirt of his Garment an Eagle's Neſt, wherein were ſeven young ones, which his Parents ſeeing and much admiring, conſulted the Augurs about it, who told them, that he ſhould become the greateſt Man in the World, and that the Fates had decreed he ſhould ſeven times be poſſeſſed of the Supream Power and Authority. Some are of Opinion that this really happen'd to *Marius* after the ſame manner we have related it; others ſay, that thoſe Men who then and through the reſt of his Exile heard him tell theſe Stories and believed him, have recorded a Relation altogether fabulous; for an Eagle never hatches more than two; beſides they give *Muſæus* the Lie, who ſpeaking of the Eagle, ſays, *That ſhe lays three Eggs, hatches two, and nouriſhes but one.* Whatever this be, it is certain *Marius* in his Exile and greateſt Extremities would often ſay, that he had ſtill a proſpect of a Seventh Conſulſhip.

62. When *Marius* and his Company were now about twenty furlongs diſtant from *Minturnæ*, a City in *Italy*, they eſpied a Troop of Horſe making up toward them with all ſpeed, and by chance alſo at the ſame time two Ships under ſail; where-

whereupon they ran every one with what ſpeed and ſtrength they could to the Sea, and plunging themſelves into it, ſwam to the Ships. Thoſe that were with *Granius* ſeized upon one of them, and paſſed over to an oppoſite Iſland called *Ænaria*; *Marius* himſelf, whoſe body was heavy and unweildy, was with great pains and difficulty born above the Water by two Servants, and put into the other Ship. The Soldiers were by this time come to the Sea-ſide, and from thence commanded the Sea-men to put to Shore, or elſe to throw out *Marius*, and then they might go whither they would. *Marius* beſought them with tears to the contrary; and the Maſters of the Ship after ſome conſultation, which inclined firſt to one then to the other ſide, reſolved at length to anſwer the Soldiers, that *they would not throw out* Marius. As ſoon as they were gone in a rage, the Sea-men immediately changing their Reſolution, came to Land, and caſting Anchor at the mouth of the River *Liris*, where it overflowing makes a great Mariſh, they adviſed him to Land, refreſh himſelf on Shore, and take ſome care of his diſcompoſed Body, till the Wind came fairer, which, ſay they, will happen at ſuch an hour, when the Wind from the Sea will calm, and that from the Mariſhes riſe.

*Marius* following their advice, did ſo, and when the Sea-men had ſet him on ſhore, he laid him down in an adjacent Field, ſuſpecting nothing leſs than what was to befall him. They, as ſoon as they had got into the Ship, weighed Anchor and departed, as thinking it neither honourable to deliver *Marius* into the hands of thoſe that ſought him, nor ſafe to protect him.

63. He thus deſerted by all, lay a good while ſilently on the Shore; at length, recollecting himſelf, he travelled very diſconſolately through By-ways, till wading through deep Bogs and Ditches full of Water and Mud, he ſtumbled upon the Old Man's Cottage that looked after the Fens; and falling at his Feet, he beſought him to aſſiſt and preſerve a Man, who if he eſcaped the preſent danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor Man, whether he had formerly known him, or were then moved with his Venerable Aſpect, told him that if he wanted only Reſt, his Cottage would be convenient; but if he were flying from any body's ſearch, he would hide him in a more retired Place. *Marius* deſiring him to do ſo, he carried him into the Fens, and bad him hide himſelf in an hollow Cave by the River-ſide, where he laid upon him a great many Reeds and other things

things that were light, and would cover, but not oppreſs him. But within a very ſmall time he was diſturbed with a noiſe and tumult from the Cottage, for *Geminius* had ſent ſeveral from *Tarracina* in purſuit of him; whereof ſome happ'ning to come that way, frightned and threatned the poor old Man for having entertained and hid an Enemy of the *Romans*. Wherefore *Marius* ariſing and uncovering himſelf, plunged into a puddle full of thick muddy Water; and even there he could not eſcape their ſearch, but was pulled out naked of Cloaths, but covered with Mire, and in that pickle carried away to *Minturnæ*, and delivered into the Magiſtrate's Power; for there had been a Proclamation through all thoſe Towns, to make publick ſearch for *Marius*, and if they found him to kill him; however the Magiſtrates thought convenient to conſider a little better of it firſt, and ſent him Priſoner to the Houſe of one *Fannia*

*Marius is taken and ſent to* Minturnæ.

64. This Woman was ſuppoſed not very well affected towards him upon an old account. One *Tinnius* had formerly Married this *Fannia*; from whom ſhe afterwards being divorced, demanded her Portion, which was conſiderable; but her Husband accuſed her of Adultery; ſo the Controverſie was brought before *Marius* in

*Fannia's kindneſs to him.*

in his Sixth Conſulſhip; when the Cauſe was examined thoroughly, it appeared both that *Fannia* had been incontinent, and that her Husband, though he knew her to be ſo, had married and lived a conſiderable time with her: So that *Marius* was ſevere enough with both; commanding him to reſtore her Portion, and laying a ſmall Fine upon her by way of diſgrace. But *Fannia* did not then behave her ſelf like one that had been injured, but as ſoon as ſhe ſaw *Marius*, remembered nothing leſs than old Affronts; took care of him according to her ability, and very much comforted him. He made her his returns, and told her he did not deſpair, for he had met with a very lucky *Omen*, which was thus; When he was brought to *Fannia*'s Houſe, as ſoon as the door was open, an Aſs came running out to drink at a Spring hard by, and looking very pertly and briskly upon *Marius*, firſt ſtood ſtill before him, then brayed aloud and pranced by him. Upon which *Marius* making his obſervation, ſaid, That the Fates deſigned his Safety to be procured rather by Sea than Land, becauſe the Aſs neglected his dry Fodder, and turned from it to the Water. Having told *Fannia* this Story, he commanded the Chamber-door to be ſhut, and went to reſt.

*His good Omen.*

Mean

65. Mean while the Governors and Senators of *Minturnæ* conſulted together, and determined, not to delay any longer, but immediately to kill *Marius*; and when none of their Citizens durſt undertake the buſineſs, a certain Soldier, a *Gaul* or *Cimber* (the Story is told of both) went in with his Sword drawn to him; the Room it ſelf was not very light, that part of it eſpecially, where he then lay, was dark, from whence *Marius*'s Eyes, they ſay, ſeemed to the Fellow to dart out flames at him, and a loud Voice to ſay, *Fellow, dareſt thou kill* C Marius? The Ruffian hereupon immediately fled, and leaving his Sword in the place, ruſhed out of doors, crying only this, *I cannot kill* C. Marius. At which they were all at firſt aſtoniſhed, afterwards pitied him, and reverſed their Sentence, and were even angry at themſelves for making ſo unjuſt and ungrateful a Decree againſt one who had preſerved *Italy*, and whom it was baſe not to aſſiſt to their utmoſt. *Let him go*, ſay they, *where he pleaſe to Baniſhment, let him find his Fate ſomewhere elſe; we beg pardon of the Gods for thruſting* Marius *diſtreſſed and deſerted out of our City.*

*A Gaul attempts to kill him.*

66. Whilſt they were taken up with ſuch like thoughts, there came a great Company about him, and conducted him towards

*He is brought by them of* Minturnæ *to the Sea.*

towards the Sea-ſide, where though every one was very officious to him, and all made what haſte they could, yet a conſiderable time was ſpent; for there was a Grove called *Marice* (which the People thereabout held ſacred, and ſuffered nothing that is brought into it to be carried out again) this lay juſt in their way to the Sea, and if they ſhould go round about, they muſt needs come very late thither. At length one of the Old Men cried out and ſaid, there was no place ſo ſacred but they might paſs through it for *Marius*'s Preſervation; and thereupon firſt of all taking up ſome of the Baggage that was carried for his accommodation to the Ship, paſſed through the Grove, all the reſt immediately with the ſame readineſs accompanying him. [He afterwards had the Picture of theſe things drawn, and placed it in a Temple thereabouts.] One *Belæus* ha ing by this time provided him a Ship, *Marius* there went on board, and hoiſting ſail, was by chance thrown upon the Iſland *Ænaria*, where meeting with *Granius* and his other Friends, he ſailed with them to *Affrick*. But their Water failing them in the way, they were forced to put in at *Erycine* in *Sicily*, where was a *Roman* Quæſtor preſiding over thoſe Places, who had almoſt taken *Marius* going on Shore, and

and killed ſixteen of his Retinue that went to fetch Water. *Marius* with all expedition looſing thence, paſſed over to the Iſle *Meniux*, where he firſt heard the News of his Son's eſcape with *Cethegus*, and of his going to implore the Aſſiſtance of *Hiempſal* King of *Numidia*.

67. With this News being ſomewhat comforted, he ventured to paſs from that Iſle towards *Carthage*. *Sextilius* a *Roman* was then Prætor in *Affrick*; one that had never received either any Injury or Kindneſs from *Marius*, yet he hoped he would out of meer Pity lend him ſome help. He was now ſcarce got aſhore with a ſmall Retinue, when an Officer was ſent to him, and meeting him, ſaid, Sextilius *the Prætor forbids thee*, Marius, *to ſet foot in* Affrick; *if thou doeſt, he ſays he will put the Decree of the Senate in Execution, and treat thee as an Enemy to the* Romans. When *Marius* heard this, he wanted Words to expreſs his Grief and Reſentment, and for a good while held his peace, looking ſternly upon the Meſſenger, who asked him what he ſhould ſay, or what Anſwer he ſhould return to the Prætor? *Marius* anſwered him with a deep ſigh; *Go tell him that you have ſeen* C. Marius *ſitting upon the Rubbiſh of* Carthage: very appoſitely applying the Example of the Fortune

tune of that City to the Change of his own Condition.

*Hiempſal's deſigns upon young* Marius.

68. In the interim, *Hiempſal*, King of *Numidia*, often changing his Deſigns, treated young *Marius* and thoſe that were with him very honourably; but when they had a mind to depart, he ſtill had ſome pretence or other to detain them; and it was manifeſt he made theſe delays upon no good deſigns; however there happen'd a ſtrange accident (as it ſometimes falls out) that made well for their Preſervation. The hard Fortune which ſtill attended young *Marius*, who was of a very comely Aſpect, nearly touched one of the King's Concubines, and this pity of hers was the beginning and pretence for her Love. At firſt he declined the Woman's ſolicitations, but when he perceived that there was no other way of eſcaping, and that ſhe careſſed him with greater kindneſs than one that deſigned only the gratifying her Senſuality, he complied with her Love, and being thereupon ſet at liberty by her, he eſcaped with his Friends, and fled to his Father *Marius*. As ſoon as they had ſaluted each other, and were going by the Sea-ſide, they ſaw ſome Scorpions fighting, which *Marius* took for an ill *Omen*, whereupon they immediately went on board a little Fiſher-boat, and made toward

*He makes his eſcape.*

ward *Cercina*, an Iſland not far diſtant from the Continent. They had ſcarce put off from Shore when they eſpied ſome Horſe ſent after them by the King, with all ſpeed making toward that very place from which they were juſt retired; ſo that *Marius* thought that in all his life he had never eſcaped a greater danger.

Cinna raiſes a Sedition.

69. At *Rome* it was diſcovered that *Sylla* was engaged with *Mithridates*'s Generals near *Beotia*, whilſt the Conſuls from a Tumult were fallen to down-right fighting, wherein *Octavius* prevailing, drove *Cinna* out of the City for affecting a Tyrannical Government, and made *Cornelius Merula* Conſul in his ſtead; but *Cinna* raiſing Forces in all Parts of *Italy*, carried on the War againſt them. As ſoon as *Marius* heard of this, he reſolved with all expedition to put to Sea again, and having levied in *Africk* ſome *Mauruſian* Horſe, and a few others that came to him out of *Italy* (which all together were not above 1000) he with this handful began his Voyage. Arriving at *Telamone*, an Haven in *Hetruria*, and coming aſhore, he made ſeveral of the Slaves free; many of the Country-men alſo and Shepherds thereabouts (that were already Freemen) at the hearing his Name came flocking to him to the Sea-ſide; he perſwaded the moſt warlike

Marius returns Italy.

warlike of them, and in a ſmall time got togeather a competent Army, wherewith he filled forty Ships. Now he knowing *Octavius* to be a very good Man, and willing to execute his Office with the greateſt Juſtice imaginable, and *Cinna* to be ſuſpected by *Sylla*, and then in actual War againſt the eſtabliſhed Government, determined to join himſelf and all his Forces with the latter: he therefore ſent a Meſſage to him to let him know, *that he ſubmitted himſelf to him, as Conſul, in whatſoever he ſhould command him.*

*And joyns himſelf with Cinna.*

70. When *Cinna* had very joyfully received him, calling him Proconſul, and ſending him the *Faſces* and other *Enſigns of Authority*, he ſaid, that Grandeur did not become his preſent Fortune; but wearing an ordinary Habit, and letting his Hair grow from that very day he firſt went to Baniſhment, and being now above threeſcore and ten years old, he came ſlowly on foot, as deſigning to move Peoples compaſſion; (thus his naturally rough Aſpect became more ſo, when joyned with his naſty Garb) which yet did not make him appear as though his Mind were dejected, but exaſperated, by the change of his Condition. Having performed his Ceremonies to *Cinna*, and ſaluted the Soldiers, he immediately prepared for War, and ſoon

ſoon made a conſiderable alteration in the poſture of Affairs. He firſt cut off all Proviſion from the Enemies Ships, and plundering all the Traders, poſſeſſed himſelf of their Stores; then bringing his Navy to the Sea-port Towns, took them, and at laſt treacherouſly became Maſter of *Oſtia* too; pillaged the Town, and ſlew a Multitude of the Inhabitants, and making a Bridge over the River, he took from the Enemy all hopes of Supply from the Sea; then marched with his Army toward the City, and poſted himſelf upon the Hill called *Janiculum*.

71. The *Publick Intereſt* did not receive ſo great damage from *Octavius*'s unskilfulneſs in his management of Affairs, as from his omitting what was neceſſary, through his too ſtrict obſervance of the Law: for he, when ſeveral adviſed him to make the Slaves free, ſaid, *That he would not commit the Protection of his Country to Servants, from which he then, in defence of the Laws, was driving away* Marius. When *Metellus* (Son to that *Metellus*, who was General in the War in *Affrick*, and afterwards baniſhed through *Marius*'s means) came to *Rome*, and was eſteemed to be a much better Commander than *Octavius*; the Soldiers deſerting the Conſul, came to him, and deſired him to take the Command of

*Octavius's ill conduct*

them and preſerve the City; that they, when they had got an experienced valiant Commander, ſhould fight couragiouſly and come off Conquerors. But *Marius* offended at it, commanded them angrily to return to the Conſul; whereupon for very ſpight they revolted to the Enemy. *Metellus* too ſeeing the City in a deſperate condition, left it; but a Company of *Chaldeans, Prieſts and Interpreters of the* Sibyls *Books*, perſwaded *Octavius*, that things were in a good condition, and kept him at *Rome*. Now he was a Man of all the *Romans* the moſt upright and juſt; one that kept up even the Formalities of the Law inviolable in his Conſulſhip; but fell I know not how into ſome weakneſſes, giving more obſervance to Impoſtors and Diviners, than to Men skilled in Civil and Military Affairs. He therefore, before *Marius* entred the City, was pulled down from the *Roſtra*, and murthered by thoſe that were ſent before by *Marius*; and it is reported there was a *Chaldean* Inſcription found on his Breaſt when he was ſlain. Now it is a thing very unaccountable, that of two ſuch Famous Generals, Marius *ſhould be often preſerved by the obſerving Divinations, and* Octavius *ruined by the ſame means.*

72. Whilſt Affairs remained in this poſture,

ſture, the Senate aſſembled, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cinna* and *Marius*, deſiring them to come into the City peaceably and ſpare the Citizens. *Cinna* as Conſul received the Embaſſy ſitting in the *Sella Curulis*, and returned a kind obliging Anſwer to the Meſſengers: *Marius* ſtood by him and ſaid nothing, but gave ſufficient Teſtimony by the ſourneſs of his Countenance, and the ſternneſs of his Looks, that he would in a ſhort time fill the City with Maſſacres. As ſoon as the Council aroſe, they went toward the City, where *Cinna* with a ſtrong Guard entred; but *Marius* ſtay'd at the Gate, and diſſembling his Rage, ſaid; *That he was then an Exile and baniſhed his Country by courſe of Law; That if his Preſence were neceſſary, they muſt by a new Decree repeal the former Act by which he was baniſhed, as if he had been a religious Obſerver of the Laws, and as if he entred into a City free from fear or oppreſſion.* Hereupon the People were aſſembled, but before three or four Tribes had given their Votes, he throwing off his Mask and Pretences of the Juſtice of his Baniſhment, came into the City with a ſelect Guard of Slaves, which came in to him, whom he called *Bardiæi*. Thoſe Fellows by his Orders murthered a great company at his expreſs Command, and as

Marius *and* Cinna *are called to* Rome.

Marius's *cruelty.*

many at his private beck. At length *Aucharius* a Senator, and one that had been Prætor, coming to *Marius*, but not being reſaluted by him, they with their drawn Swords ſlew him before *Marius*'s Face; and henceforth this was their token immediately to kill all thoſe who met *Marius*, and ſaluting him, were taken no notice of, or not anſwered with the like Courteſie: ſo that his very Friends were not without dreadful apprehenſions and horrour, whenſoever they came to attend him.

73. When they had now butchered a great Number, *Cinna* grew more remiſs and cloy'd with Murders; but *Marius*'s Rage was ſtill freſh and unſatisfied, and he daily ſought for all that were any way ſuſpected by him. Now was every ſtreet, and every corner of the City filled with thoſe that purſued and haunted them that fled and hid themſelves; and it was remarkable that there was no more confidence to be placed, as things ſtood, either in Hoſpitality or Friendſhip; for there were found but a very few that did not betray thoſe that fled to them for ſhelter. Wherefore the Servants of *Cornutus* deſerve the greatter Praiſe and Admiration; who having concealed their Maſter in the Houſe, took a body of one of the ſlain, cut off the head, put a gold ring on the finger, and ſhewed

*Cornutus preſerved by his Servants.*

ed it to *Marius*'s Guards, and buried it with the ſame Solemnity as if it had been their own Maſter. This trick was perceived by no body, but ſo *Cornutus* eſcaped, and was conveyed by his Domeſticks into *Gallia*.

74. *Marcus Antonius* the Orator, though he too found a true Friend, had ill Fortune. The Man was but poor and a Plebeian, who entertaining a Man of the greateſt rank in *Rome*, and kindly furniſhing him with what he had, ſent his Servant to get ſome Wine of a Neighbouring Vintner; the Servant carefully taſting it and bidding him draw better, the Fellow asked him what was the matter, that he did not buy new and ordinary Wine as he uſed to do, but richer and of a greater price; he without any deſign told him as his Croney and Acquaintance, that his Maſter entertained *Marcus Antonius* whom he concealed. The villainous Vintner, as ſoon as the Servant was gone, went himſelf to *Marius* then at Supper, and being brought into his Preſence, told him, he would deliver *Antonius* into his hands; as ſoon as he heard it, it is ſaid he gave a great ſhout, and clapped his hands for joy, and had very nigh roſe up and gone to the place himſelf; but being detained by his Friends, he ſent *Annius* and ſome Soldiers with him, and commanded him to bring *Antonius*'s Head to him

Marcus Antonius *ſlain.*

with all ſpeed. Now when they came to the Houſe, *Annius* ſtay'd at the door, and the Soldiers went up ſtairs into the Chamber; where, ſeeing *Antonius*, they endeavoured to ſhuffle off the Murther from one to another; for ſo great it ſeems were the Graces and Charms of his Oratory, that as ſoon as he began to ſpeak and beg his Life, none of them durſt touch or ſo much as look upon him; but hanging down their heads, every one fell a weeping. When their ſtay ſeemed ſomething tedious, *Annius* followed after, ſaw *Antonius* diſcourſing, and the Soldiers aſtoniſhed and quite ſoftned by it, for which he checked them ſeverely, and went himſelf and cut off his Head.

Catulus *kills himſelf.*

75. *Catulus Lutatius* who was Collegue with *Marius*, and his Partner in the Triumph over the *Cimbri*, when *Marius* had told thoſe that interceded for him and begged his Life, that he muſt die, ſhut himſelf up in a Room, and making a great fire ſmothered himſelf. When maimed and headleſs Carcaſſes were now frequently thrown about and trampled upon in the ſtreets, People were not ſo much moved with Compaſſion at the ſight, as ſtruck into a kind of horrour and conſternation. The Outrages of thoſe that were called *Bardiæi* was the greateſt grievance imaginable;

*The Villanies and Puniſhment of the* Bardiæi.

ginable; for they murthered thoſe that had been their Maſters in their own Houſes, abuſed their Children, and raviſhed their Wives, and were uncontrolable in their Rapine and Murthers, till thoſe of *Cinna*'s and *Sertorius*'s Party taking Counſel together, fell upon them in the Camp, and killed them every Man.

76. In the interim, as by a certain turn of fortune, there came News from all Parts, that *Sylla* having put an end to the War with *Mithridates*, and taken poſſeſſion of the Provinces, was returning into *Italy* with a great Army. This gave ſome ſmall reſpite and intermiſſion to theſe unſpeakable Calamities, when they thought that a War threatened them; whereupon *Marius* was choſen Conſul the Seventh time, and appearing on the very Calends of *January*, the beginning of the Year, he threw one *Sextus Lucinus* from the *Tarpeian* Precipice, which was no ſmall *Omen* of approaching Miſeries both to their Party and the City. *Marius* himſelf now worn out with Labour, and ſinking under the burthen of his Cares, could not bear up his Spirits flagging with the apprehenſion of a New War, and freſh Encounters and Dangers, which he had by his own experience found formerly very troubleſome. He conſidered too that he was

Marius's *Seventh Conſulſhip.*

not now to hazard the War with *Octavius* or *Merula* commanding the unexperienced Multitude or ſeditious Rabble; but that *Sylla* himſelf was approaching, the ſame who had formerly baniſhed him, and ſince that driven *Mithridates* as far as the *Euxine* Sea.

*His diſcontent and death.*

77. Perplexed with ſuch thoughts as theſe, and calling to mind his Baniſhment, the tedious wanderings and dangers he underwent both by Sea and Land, he fell into great Troubles, nocturnal Frights and unquiet Sleep, ſtill fancying that he heard ſome telling him, *That the Den, though of an abſent Lion, is dreadful*; above all things fearing to lie awake, he gave himſelf over to drinking and ſotting at Nights, very unagreeably to his Age; by all means provoking Sleep, as a diverſion to his Thoughts. At length there came an expreſs Meſſenger from the Sea, giving him ſuch an account of Affairs as overcharged him with freſh Cares and Frights; ſo that what with his fear for the future, and what with the weight and tedioufneſs of the preſent, having ſome ſmall diſpoſition to it, he fell into a Pleuriſie, as *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher relates, who ſays he went to, and diſcourſed with him when he was ſick, about ſome buſineſs relating to his Embaſſy. One *Cajus Piſo* an Hiſtorian

rian tells us, that *Marius* walking after Supper with his Friends, when they fell into a Diſcourſe about his Concerns, and reckoned up the ſeveral Changes of his Condition, that from the beginning had happen'd to him, he ſaid, that it did not become a prudent Man to truſt himſelf any longer with Fortune; and thereupon taking leave of thoſe that were with him, he kept his Bed ſeven Days, and then died.

78. Some ſay he very much betrayed his Ambition even in his Sickneſs, and fell into an extravagant Frenzy, fancying himſelf to be General in the War againſt *Mithridates*, acting ſuch Poſtures and Motions of his Body, as he uſed when he was in the Battel; with frequent Shouts and loud Acclamations, with ſo ſtrong and invincible a deſire of being employed in that Buſineſs as he poſſeſſed through his Pride and Emulation. He, though he had now lived threeſcore and ten Years, and was the firſt Man that ever was choſen ſeven times Conſul, poſſeſſed of ſuch a Palace, and ſo great Riches as were ſufficient for many Kings, yet complained of his ill Fortune; that he muſt now die before he had attained what he deſired. Plato *when he* Plato.
*ſaw his Death approaching, thanked his God and Fortune; Firſt, that he was born a Man and a* Grecian, *not a* Barbarian *or a* Brute,

*and*

Antipater.

*and next, that he happen'd to live in* Socrates's *Age.* And ſo indeed they ſay *Antipater* of *Tarſus*, in like manner at his Death recollecting what Proſperity he had enjoyed, did not ſo much as omit his happy Voyage to *Athens*; thus returning to every favour of his indulgent Fortune with the greateſt acknowledgments, and retaining it to the very laſt in his memory, than which *Man hath not a more ſecure Treaſury.* But on the contrary, Perſons fooliſh and ungrateful to God and Nature loſe the enjoyment of their preſent Proſperity by fancying ſomething better to come; whereas by Fortune we may be prevented of this, but that can never be taken from us. Yet they reject their preſent Succeſs, as though it did not concern them, and do nothing but dream of future uncertainties; and in this, they have but what they deſerve, for till they have by Learning and Education laid a good Foundation for external Superſtructures; in the ſeeking after and gathering them, they can never ſatisfie the unlimited deſires of their Mind.

80. Thus died *Marius* on the Seventeenth Day of his Seventh Conſulſhip, to the great Joy and Content of *Rome*; which thereby was in good hopes to be delivered from the Calamity of an Inſolent,

lent, bloody and fatal Tyranny; but in a ſmall time they found, that they had only changed their old Maſter for another young and vigorous; ſo much Cruelty and Salvageneſs did his Son *Marius* ſhew in murthering the Nobility: At the firſt being eſteemed reſolute and daring towards his Enemies, he was named the Son of *Mars*, but afterwards his Actions betraying his contrary Diſpoſition, he was called the Son of *Venus*. At laſt he was beſieged by *Sylla* in *Præneſte*, where he endeavoured by all means to ſave his Life, but in vain; for when the City was taken, there being no way of eſcape, he ſlew himſelf.

*Young Marius.*

THE

# THE LIFE OF LYSANDER.

Engliſhed from the *Greek*,

By *William Leman*, M. A. of *Cambridge*.

## VOLUME III.

THE Treaſure of the *Acanthians* at *Delphos* hath this Inſcription; The Spoils which *Braſidas* * and the *Acanthians* took from the *Athenians*. Wherefore many take the Marble Statue, which ſtands within the Temple, by the Gates, to be *Braſidas*'s, but indeed it is *Lyſander*'s,

* *A Spartan General formerly.*

# LYSANDER.



*Lyſander*'s, repreſenting him very exactly with his Hair and Beard at full length, after the old Faſhion. Neither is it true (what ſome give out) that becauſe the *Argives* after a great Defeat ſhaved themſelves for Sorrow, that the *Spartans* contrariwiſe triumphing in their Atchievements, ſuffer'd their Hair to grow. Neither did the *Spartans* come to be ambitious of wearing long Hair, becauſe the *Bacchiadæ* fled from *Corinth* to *Lacedemonia* in a dirty and deformed manner, having their Heads all ſhaved. But this indeed is alſo a Law of *Lycurgus*, and who, as it is reported, was uſed to ſay, *That long Hair made the Handſom more Beautiful, but the Deformed more Dreadful.*

*Lyſander*'s Father was ſaid to be *Ariſtoclitus*, who was not indeed of the Royal Family, but yet of the Stock of the *Heraclidæ*. He was brought up in Want, and he behaved himſelf as conformably, as ever any one did, to the Cuſtoms of his Country; he was alſo Manly, and above all Pleaſure, excepting that only which good Actions bring to the Honourable, and the truly Virtuous; and it is accounted no baſe thing in *Sparta* for their young Men to be overcome with this kind of Pleaſure, for they take care to have their Youth affected betimes with Glory, to be vexed with *His Family.*

with Disgraces, and to be lifted up with Commendations; and he that was not sensible and moved by these, was despised as one who was mean-spirited, and uneapable of Virtue. Thus did Ambition and the love of Glory, taught him by the *Laconick* way of Education, stick close to him, neither was his Disposition much to be blamed for this. He was submissive to Great Men beyond what seems agreeable to the *Spartan* Temper, and could easily bear the haughtiness of those who were in Power, when it was any way for his advantage, which some are of an opinion is no small part of discretion in State. *Aristotle*, who says, all great Wits are something Melancholy (as *Socrates*, and *Plato*, and *Hercules* were) writes, that *Lysander* did not presently fall into Melancholy, but when he was old. But this was an especial Property of his, that he could endure Poverty very well, that he was not at all enslaved or corrupted by Wealth, that he filled his Country with Riches, and the love of them, and took away the glory from them of not admiring Mony; that he brought them an abundance of Gold and Silver after the *Athenian* War, but left not one * Sice for himself. When *Dionysius* the Tyrant sent his Daughters some costly Gowns of *Sicily*; he would not receive them,

Lysander *his Character.*

* Δραχμὴ *with the Greeks is* 7 d. *half penny.*

them, saying, he was afraid they would make them look more unhandsom. But a while after, being sent Ambassador from the same City to the same Tyrant, who when he had sent him a couple of Coats, and bid him chuse which of them he would, and carry to his Daughter; this, says he, pleases me best, and taking both of them, went his way.

But afterwards when the *Peloponnesian* War had been carried on a long time, and after the unhappy Arms of the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, when they thought they should presently lose the Sea, and e'er long be routed every where; *Alcibiades* coming from Banishment, and managing these Affairs, caused great Alterations, and made the *Athenian* Sea-forces equal to theirs: Whereupon the *Lacedemonians* were much afraid, but taking Courage for War afresh, but wanting an expert Commander, and one of an able Conduct, they send for *Lysander* to be Admiral of the Seas. But being at *Ephesus*, and finding the City well-affected towards him, and favouring the *Lacedemonian* Party, though then but in an ill condition, and in danger to become barbarous by the *Persian* Manners, for they were mingled among them, and *Lydia* bordered upon them, and the King's Captains quartered there a long time. But he

he pitched his Tent, and commanded the Merchant Ships all about to drive in there, prepared a place for building of Men of War, he repaired the Havens for the Merchants, and the Market for Trade, and the Houſes and Artiſts he filled with Riches, ſo that from that time the City began firſt of all by *Lyſander*'s means, to have ſome hopes of growing to that Statelineſs and Grandeur which now it is at.

But being aſſured that *Cyrus* the King's Son was come to *Sardis*, he went up to talk with him, and to accuſe *Tiſaphernes*, who receiving a command to help the *Lacedemonians*, and to drive the *Athenians* from the Sea, was thought to be ſlackned by *Alcibiades*, and to be put out of courage by him, and by paying the Seamen ſlenderly to have conſumed the Fleet. Now *Cyrus* was willing that *Tiſaphernes* might be found in the blame, and be ill reported of, as being indeed a wicked Man, and *Cyrus* being particularly offended with him. By theſe means, and by familiarity together was *Lyſander* beloved, and pleaſing the young Prince, eſpecially by the ſubmiſſiveneſs of his Converſation, he encouraged him on to the War; and when he would depart *Cyrus* treated him, deſired him not to refuſe his good will, but

to

to ſpeak and ask whatſoever he had a mind to, and that he ſhould not fail of any thing whatſoever; to which *Lyſander* replied, *Since* (ſays he) *you are ſo very kind to me, I earneſtly requeſt you to add* * *one penny to the Seamen's pay, that inſtead of three pence, they may now receive four pence.* Wherefore *Cyrus* being taken with the Generoſity of the Man, he gave him a million of † Dariques, out of which adding a Penny to the Seamen, with a gallantry of Spirit in a ſhort time he waſted the Fleet of the Enemies; for many would come over to that ſide which gave the moſt pay; and thoſe who remained, being diſheartned and mutinous, did daily create miſchiefs to the Captains, and yet for all *Lyſander* had ſo conſumed and ſpoiled his Enemies, he was afraid to engage by Sea, *Alcibiades* being an expert Perſon, and having an abundance of Ships, and having been hitherto in all Battels unconquer'd both by Sea and Land.

But afterwards *Alcibiades* ſailed from *Samos* to *Phocea*, leaving *Antiochus* Governor of all his Forces. Now this *Antiochus* in an inſulting and bragging manner over *Lyſander*, ſailed with two * three-oared Gallies towards the Port of the *Epheſians*, and with great mocking and laughter proudly

* Ὀβολὸν, *with the Greeks a penny farthing*, Brerewood de ponderibus & menſuris.

† Δαρεικὸς *a Coyn of* 2 s. 4 d. *value.*

* Τετήρης, *of the ſhape of which Ships* Meibomius *hath a Tract called*, de Frabica triremium, *a long Veſſel with three rows of Rowers.*

proudly rowed by the Harbour. At which *Lyſander* being offended, and preſently drawing a few Ships togethe purſued him, but as ſoon as he ſaw the *Athenians* come to his help, he added ſome other Ships, and at laſt they fell to Battel together; but *Lyſander* won the Victory, and taking fifteen of their Ships, he made a Triumph. For this very thing, the People in the City being angry, put *Alcibiades* out of Command; who, when he was deſpiſed by the Soldiers in *Samos*, and being ill ſpoken of, he ſailed from the Army into the *Cherſoneſe:* Now this Battel, although not great for any Action, yet becauſe of *Alcibiades* his Misfortune was made remarkable.

Alcibiades *unkindly diſplaced.*

But *Lyſander* ſent from the Towns to *Epheſus*, thoſe whom he ſaw more ſubtle and daring than the reſt, and laid the Foundations of that Government by ten Perſons, and Innovations which afterwards came to paſs, ſtirring up and urging them to enter into Companies, to apply themſelves to the Concerns, that as ſoon as ever the *Athenians* ſhould be deſtroy'd, and the Government by the People alter'd, that they ſhould become Rulers in their own Countries: And he made them all believe theſe things by his Deeds, promoting thoſe who were his Friends already, and Strangers

gers to great Employments, Honours, and Offices, and to gratifie their Covetousness he made himself a Partner in Injustice and Wickedness. Insomuch that all flock'd to him, and courted and desired him, hoping to obtain the greatest matters while he was in Power: Wherefore from the very beginning they could not look pleasantly upon *Callicratidas* when he came to succeed *Lysander* as Admiral; nay, not afterwards, (when he had given them Experience) that he was a most excellent and just Person, were they pleased with the manner of his Government, because he had well-meaning, plain, and honest reality. They did indeed admire this Man's Virtue, as they do the Beauty of some Heroes Image; but they wished for *Lysander*'s Diligence, and his profitable Friendship they desir'd, insomuch that they shed Tears, and were disheartned when he sailed from them: But he made them yet more disaffected to *Callicratidas*; for what remained of the Mony which had been given him to pay the Navy, he sends back again to *Sardis*, bidding them, if they would, go to *Callicratidas* himself, and see how he was able to maintain the Soldiers. And at the last sailing away, he declar'd to him, that he deliver'd up that Fleet which had the Rule of the Sea.

Callicratidas *reproves* Lyſander.

But *Callicratidas* having a mind to reprove his boaſting and vain Arrogance: *Therefore* (ſays he) *leaving* Samos *on the left hand, and ſailing to* Miletus, *there deliver up the Ships to me; for if we have command of the Sea, we need not fear our Enemies in* Samos *when we have ſailed beyond them.* To which *Lyſander* anſwering, That not himſelf but he commanded the Ships, he ſailed to *Peloponneſus*, leaving *Callicratidas* in great perplexity. For neither had he brought any Mony from home with him, neither could he tax the Towns or force them, being in hardſhip enough. Therefore the courſe that was to be taken was to go beg at the doors of the King's Captains, as *Lyſander* had done; for which he was moſt unfit of any Man, being a generous and great Spirit, and who thought it more becoming for the *Grecians* to have ſuffer'd any damage from one another, than to flatter and wait at the Gates of *Barbarians*, who indeed had Gold enough, but nothing elſe that was commendable; but being compelled by neceſſity, he marches to *Lydia*, and preſently goes to *Cyprus* his Houſe, and orders to tell him that *Callicratidas* the Admiral was there to ſpeak with him: But one of them who kept the Gates ſays, Cyrus, *O Stranger, is not at leiſure, for he is a drinking.* To which

*Callicra-*

*Callicratidas* mighty innocently, *Very well* (ſays he) *I will tarry here till he has done drinking:* Whereupon they took him for ſome clowniſh Fellow, and being laughed at by the *Barbarians* he goes his way: But afterwards he comes a ſecond time to the Gate, and not being admitted, he takes it heinouſly, and goes for *Epheſus*, wiſhing a great many Evils to thoſe who were firſt inſulted over by theſe *Barbarians*, and taught them to be inſolent becauſe of their Riches. Moreover he ſwore to thoſe who were preſent, that as ſoon as ever he came back to *Sparta*, he would do all he could to reconcile the *Greeks*, that they might be dreadful to *Barbarians*, and that they ſhould leave off hereafter to deſire their Forces againſt one another. But *Callicratidas*, who had Reſolution worthy a *Lacedemonian*, and might challenge an Excellency with the very beſt of *Greece*, for his Juſtice, his greatneſs of Mind and Courage, not long after having been beaten in a Sea-fight at *Arginuſa*, died.

Callicratidas *a worthy Man.*

And now Affairs going backwards, the Aſſociates of the War ſend an Embaſſage to *Sparta*, requiring *Lyſander* to be their Admiral, as being able to undertake the buſineſs much more chearfully, if he was Commander; and *Cyrus* alſo ſent to requeſt the ſame thing: But becauſe they

had a Law which would not ſuffer any one to be Admiral twice, and the *Lacedemonians* had a mind to gratifie their Fellow Warriors, they gave the Title of Admiral to one *Acacus*, and *Lyſander* they ſent as Vice-Admiral, but indeed Lord of all: and thus did he who had been long wiſh'd for by the greateſt part of the chief Perſons, and thoſe of Authority in the Towns, come; for they hop'd to grow to greater power ſtill by his means, when the Government by the People ſhould be every where deſtroyed.

But to thoſe who love a plain and an open carriage in their Commanders, *Lyſander*, compared with *Callicratidas*, was thought to be cunning and ſubtle, managing moſt things in War by deceit, extolling what was juſt when it was profitable, and when it was not, uſing that which was convenient inſtead of that which was good; and not judging of Truth to be in nature better than Falſhood, but ſetting a value upon both according to Intereſt. He would bid laugh at thoſe who thought that *Hercules*'s Poſterity ought not to uſe Deceit in War: *For where the Lion's Skin cannot prevail, you muſt ſow on the Fox's*: And ſuch things are recorded of him in the buſineſs about *Miletus*: For when his Friends and the Strangers whom he

he had promiſed to ſpoil the People, had alter'd their Minds, and were reconciled to their Enemies, he pretended openly as if he was pleaſed with it, and was Friends with them too, but privately railed at and abuſed them, and provok'd them to ſet upon the Multitude: And as ſoon as ever he perceived there was a Tumult made, he runs preſently into the City to help, and the firſt of the Rebels he lights upon, he checks ſoundly, and ſpeaks roughly, as if he would puniſh them: But the others he bids be couragious, and to be no more afraid of danger while he was with them; and thus did he diſſemble and act diverſly, that thoſe who were moſt for a Commonwealth, and the Government by a few Chief, might not fly away, but ſtay in the City, and be killed; and which ſo fell out, for all who believ'd him, were ſlain.

*Deceitful behaviour of* Lyſander.

There is a Saying remembred from *Androclides*, accuſing *Lyſander* for making very light of Oaths; for he would (as they ſay) cheat Boys at Cock-all, and Men with Oaths, following the Example of *Polycrates* of *Samos*, not rightly though for a General to imitate a Tyrant: Neither was it the *Laconick* uſe to deal with their Gods as with Enemies, and more injuriouſly: for he who cheats with an Oath, confeſſes he fears his Enemy, but deſpiſes his

Cyrus *kind to* Lyſander.

God. Now *Cyrus* had ſent for *Lyſander* to *Sardis*, and gave him ſome Mony, and promiſed him ſome more, youthfully bragging in favour to him, that if his Father gave him nothing, he would ſupply him of his own; and if he himſelf ſhould be deſtitute of all things, he would cut down (he ſaid) to make Mony, the very Throne upon which he ſate to do Juſtice, it being made of Gold and Silver; And at laſt he goes back into *Media* to his Father, orders him to receive the Tribute of the Towns, and commits his Government to him, and having took his leave, and deſired him not to enter Battel before he returned (for he would come back with a great many Ships out of *Phœnicia* and *Cilicia*) he goes to the King.

Now *Lyſander* (being not able to fight with ſuch a number of Ships, nor to ſit idle with ſuch) launching forth, he takes ſome Iſlands, and waſtes *Ægina* and *Salamina*: But going from thence to *Attica*, and ſaluting *Agis* (for he came from *Decelia* to him, to ſhew him the ſtrength of his Sea, while his Land Forces were there, as if he had been Lord of the Sea more than he could deſire) but hearing the *Athenians* purſued him, he fled another way through the Iſlands into *Aſia*; and finding the *Helleſpont* without any Defence, he attacks

tacks the People of *Lampſacus* with Ships on that part next to the Sea; and *Thorax* meeting with the Foot Army, he ſets upon the Walls at the ſame time, and ſo having taken the City by force, he gave his Soldiers leave to plunder. The Fleet of the *Athenians*, which was an hundred and fourſcore Ships, was then going full ſail to *Elis* of the *Cherſoneſe*; and being aſſured that *Lampſacus* was deſtroy'd, they preſently ſail to *Seſtos*; where taking in Victuals, they ſail by to the River *Ægus*, over againſt their Enemies, who were ſtill cruiſing about *Lampſacus*. Amongſt the reſt of the *Athenian* Captains which were in the War was *Philocles*, he who had formerly perſwaded the People to revolt, to cut off the right Thumb of the Captives in the War, that they ſhould not be able to hold the Spear, though they might the Oar. Then they all reſted themſelves, hoping they ſhould have Battel the next Morning. But *Lyſander* had other things in his Head, for he commanded the Mariners and Pilots to go on board about Evening, as if there ſhould be a Battel as ſoon as Day broke, and ſit there orderly, and without any noiſe, expecting what ſhould be commanded; and in like manner that the Foot Army ſhould be ſilent in their Ranks by the Sea. But the Sun riſing, and the

*Philocles's politick Cruelty.*

the *Athenians* ſailing directly up to them with their whole Fleet, and urging them to Battel, he having his Ships with their Fore-decks lying * contrary to them, the Day approaching, did not ſail up: And he ſending ſome Service-Ships to thoſe who lay foremoſt, he bids them be couragious, and ſtay in their Order, not to Mutiny, nor offer Battel; ſo about Evening the *Athenians* ſailing back, he would not let the Seamen go out of the Ships, before thoſe two or three he had ſent to eſpy, were returned, and ſaw the Enemies enter upon Land; and thus they did the next Day, and the third, and ſo to the fourth. Inſomuch that the *Athenians* grew very bold, and diſdaining their Enemies, as if they had been afraid and daunted. Hereupon *Alcibiades* (for he was in his Tent about the *Cherſoneſe*) came riding on Horſe-back to the *Athenian* Army, and found fault with their Captains, firſt of all, that they had pitched their Camp neither well nor ſafely, in Havens hard to ſtand in, and too open to the Heat; then that they tranſgreſſed in this, that they muſt fetch what they wanted a great way off from *Seſtos*, that they ſhould have ſailed about ſomething more towards the Port and City of *Seſtus*, and have been farther from their Enemies, who were ready for an Onſet

* Ἀντιπρῴροις ἔχων τὰς ναῦς.

ſet at the Command of one, and would quickly for fear obſerve all things as ſoon as the Sign ſhould be given. But when he gave theſe Inſtructions they did not obey him; and *Tydeus* anſwered diſdainfully, that not he, but others, were the Rulers. Wherefore *Alcibiades* ſuſpecting ſome Treachery in them, departed.

But the fifth making as if they would ſail towards them, and going back again as they uſed to do, very proudly and full of contempt, *Lyſander* ſending forth ſome Ships to ſcout, commands the Maſters of them, that when they ſaw the *Athenians* go to land, that they would row back again as ſoon as might be, and that when they were about half way, that they would lift up the Golden Shield from the Fore-deck, which was the Sign of Battel; and as he himſelf was ſailing to them, he exhorted the Pilots and Maſters of the Ships, and encouraged them to keep all things in order, the Sea-men and Soldiers, and as ſoon as ever the Sign ſhould be given, briskly and couragiouſly to row up to their Enemies; and when the Shield had been lift up from the Ships, and the Trumpet from the Admiral's Veſſel had ſounded Battel, the Ships rowed up, and the Foot Soldiers ſtrove to get along by the Shore to the Promontory: The diſtance there between

Lyſander's *good Conduct.*

between the two Continents is fifteen Furlongs, which by the diligence and readineſs of thoſe who rowed, was preſently paſſed over. But firſt of all, *Conon*, the chief Captain of the *Athenians*, ſpying from the Land the Navy coming up, he preſently cries out, *On board*; ſome he bids, others he entreats, and ſome he forces to fill the Ships: But his great Diligence ſignified nothing, becauſe the Men were ſcattered about; for as ſoon as they came out of the Ships, expecting no ſuch matter, ſome talked in the Market, others walked about the Country, they ſlept under their Tents, they made Dinners, and by the unskilfulneſs of the Captains, any thought of Hereafter was very far from them: But preſently their Enemies coming with a great Noiſe and Violence, *Conon* with eight Ships ſailed out, and flying, paſſed from them to *Cyprus* to *Evagoras**: But the *Peloponneſians* falling upon the reſt, ſome they take quite empty, and ſome they cut while they were filling, the Men coming unarmed and ſcattered to help, die at their Ships, flying by Land they are ſlain, their Enemies from on board purſuing them: *Lyſander* took 3000 Priſoners with their Captains; the whole Fleet, excepting the Ship for buſineſs*, and thoſe which fled with *Conon*. So linking their Ships with his, and ſpoiling their

* *The King.*

Athenians *greatly defeat by* Lyſander.

* Πάραλος, *a ſacred Ship and uſed for publick grand Affairs.*

their Tents, with Pipe and Songs of Victory he ſailed back to *Lampſacus*, having accompliſhed a great Work with ſmall Pains, and ſo having finiſhed a War in one hour which had been of long continuance, and full of variety, paſt belief beyond all before it for Slaughters, and remarkable Paſſages, which had altered its Shape a million of times as to its Fights and Affairs, and had been the Deſtruction of as many Captains as all the Wars of *Greece* before it, by the good Counſel and ready Conduct of one Man was made an end of: Wherefore ſome looked upon this as a Divine Work, and there were certain who affirmed that the Stars of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* were on each ſide of *Lyſander*'s Ship, when he firſt ſet Sail from the Haven toward his Enemies; and that they ſhone in the Helm; and ſome ſay the Stone which fell down was a Sign of this Slaughter.

For there did come down (as is the Opinion of many) a Stone of a great bigneſs at the River *Ægus*, which is ſhewn to this Day, and had in great Eſteem by the *Cherſonites*; and it is reported, that *Anaxagoras* foretold, that of thoſe Bodies which were faſtned up in Heaven, upon ſome ſliding and ſhaking, there ſhould be a caſting forth, and falling down, and one of them ſhould be broken off, and every one of

*A Digreſſion about Stars.*

of the Stars is not now in the ſame place in which it was at firſt; for they being like Stones, and heavy, ſhine by a reſiſtance and reflection of the Air round about, that they are moved by force, being held in by the violence and ſtrength of the turning round, juſt as they were at the firſt kept in from falling down, when the cold and heavy Bodies divided the Univerſe.

*The cauſe of Meteors.*

But there is a more probable Opinion than this, of ſome who ſay that falling Stars are no Effluxes; neither are they a throwing of the Ætherial Fire which is put out in the Air juſt at its kindling again; neither are they a taking fire and inflammation of the Air let looſe in great Abundance into the upper Region, but a caſting out and tumbling down of the Heavenly Bodies, as if by ſome ſlackneſs of the violent and irregular Motion, by gentle Shakings, tending not to any place of this habitable Earth, but for the moſt part falling without into the wide Ocean; and which is the cauſe we are ignorant of them.

And *Damachus* is of the ſame Judgment with *Anaxagoras* in his Books about Religion, writing that before this Stone fell, for ſeventy and five Days continually was ſeen about Heaven a vaſt fiery Body, as if it had been a flaming Cloud, not reſting, but being carried about with ſeveral folding and broken Motions, ſo that the flaming

ming pieces which were broken off by the ſhaking and running about were moved up and down every where, and ſhined juſt as falling Stars do. But afterwards when it was thruſt down to a certain place of the Earth, the Inhabitants putting off all Fear and Aſtoniſhment, came together; but there was no Fire to be ſeen, neither any ſign of it; there was a Stone lying ſomething big indeed, which bore no proportion (to ſpeak of) with that fiery Compaſs. Wherefore it is manifeſt that *Damachus* had need to have candid Hearers; for if what he ſaid be true, he ſtoutly convinces thoſe who ſay the Stone came out of the Top of ſome Mountain, which had been cut off by Winds and Tempeſts, and which was carried up like Whirl-wind, and turned round, and which as ſoon as it came to ſlacken, and left off its running about, was caſt forth and fell down. Unleſs truly that ſhould be Fire indeed which was ſeen for ſo many Days, but the putting out and conſuming of it altered the Air into violent Winds and Motions, and which might be cauſe of this Stone's being caſt forth. Wherefore theſe kind of things are to be exactly treated of in another kind of writing.

But *Lyſander*, after the 3000 *Athenians* whom he had taken Priſoners, were condemned

demned by the Counſellors to die, he called *Philocles* the Captain, and asked him what Puniſhment he deſerved, who had adviſed the Citizens ſuch things againſt the *Grecians:* But he being nothing caſt down at his Calamity, bid him not accuſe him of thoſe things whereof no Body was a Judge, but to do to him now he was a Conqueror, as he would have ſuffered, had he been overcome: Then waſhing himſelf, and putting on a fine Coat, he led the Citizens the way to the Slaughter, as *Theophraſtus* in his Hiſtory writes: After this *Lyſander* bid them all go into *Athens*; that he would ſpare none, but kill every Man whom he took out of the City, intending preſently to cauſe a Famine and Scarcity there, that they ſhould not make the Siege laborious to him, having Proviſions wherewithal eaſily to endure it; and deſtroying the Government by People and other Forms, he left one *Lacedemonian* chief Governor to every City, with ten Rulers to each out of the Company of his Friends he had gathered; and doing thus as well in the Cities of the Enemies, as of his Aſſociates, he ſailed leiſurely farther on, raiſing in a manner to himſelf the whole Empire of *Greece*, and neither did he make choice of the Great or the rich Men to be Governors, but beſtowed the Offices

Philocles *his bold Carriage.*

to

to his Friends and to the Strangers, making them Lords of all Reward and Puniſhment: But he having been preſent himſelf at many Slaughters, and routing thoſe who were Enemies to his Friends, he did not give the *Greeks* a favourable demonſtration of the *Lacedemonian* Government.

Although *Theopompus* the Poet ſeemed to dote, when he compared the *Lacedemonians* to Tavern-women, becauſe when the *Grecians* had taſted the ſweet Wine of Liberty they poured in Vinegar: For preſently there was an harſh and bitter reliſh, when *Lyſander* would not ſuffer the People to rule the Affairs, but intruſted the Cities with a few of the boldeſt and moſt ambitious Men; and having ſpent a little time about theſe things, and ſent ſome before to *Lacedemonia* to tell them he was arriving with 200 Ships, he cruiſed about *Attica*, *Agis* and *Pauſanias* being Kings, as if he would preſently take the City: But when the *Athenians* defended themſelves, he with his Fleet paſſes again to *Aſia*, and in like manner he deſtroyed the Forms of Government in all the other Cities, and made them to be ruled by ten chief Perſons, many in every one being killed, and many being put to flight; he routed out the whole People of *Samos*, and

*III Management of* Lyſander.

gave their Cities to thoſe who fled; and the *Athenians* poſſeſſing *Ceſtos*, he took it from them, and ſuffer'd not the *Seſtians* themſelves to dwell in it, but gave the City and Country to be diſpos'd among the Pilots and Maſters of the Ships under him; and which the *Lacedemonians* firſt acted contrary to, and brought the *Seſtians* back again into their Country: But the *Grecians* ſaw all theſe Deeds of *Lyſander* very pleaſingly, in that the *Aginites* now after a long time receiv'd their Cities again, that he put the *Melians* and *Scionæans* to dwell together, the *Athenians* being driven out, and delivering up their Cities; and when he underſtood they were in a baſe caſe in the City becauſe of the Famine, he ſails to *Pireum*, he beſieges the City alſo, and forcing them, he makes what Conditions he demanded.

Alſo you might hear the *Lacedemonians* ſay, as if *Lyſander* wrote to the Chief Magiſtrates thus, *The* Athenians *are taken*; and that the Magiſtrates wrote back to *Lyſander*, *It is ſufficient to have taken them*: But that Saying was invented for its neatneſs ſake; for the true Decree of the Magiſtrates was on this manner: *The Rulers of the* Lacedemonians *have made theſe Orders, Pull down the* Pireum *and the long Walls; and when they come out of all the Towns take*

*take their Land; and if ye do theſe things peace be with ye; give what is fitting, ſet thoſe who fled at liberty; as concerning the number of the Ships, whatſoever ye judge neceſſary to appoint, that do ye.* This Parchment Schrole did the *Athenians* receive, *Theramenes* of *Ancon* being the Compoſer. At what time they ſay that when *Cleomenes* was asked by one of the young Orators, how he durſt act and ſpeak contrary to *Themiſtocles*, delivering up the Walls to the *Lacedemonians*, which he had built againſt the Will of the *Lacedemoniaus*, he ſaid, *O young Man, I do nothing contrary to* Themiſtocles; *for he raiſed theſe Walls for the Safety of the Citizens, and we pull them down for their Safety; and if Walls make a City happy, then* Sparta *muſt be the moſt wretched of all, as being without Walls.* Wherefore *Lyſander* as ſoon as he had taken all the Ships (except twelve) and the Walls of the *Athenians*, on the ſixteenth day of the Month *April* (in which he had overcome the *Barbarians* at *Salamis*) he would preſently have alter'd the Government: But the *Athenians* taking that heinouſly and unkindly, he ſent to the People and inform'd them, that he found that the City had broken the League, for the Walls were ſtanding when the days were paſt wherein they ſhould have been

Μαιμακτηριῶνα, *is* April *in* Rous Archeol. Att. p. 66.

pulled down: Wherefore he would make other new Conditions with them, as having broken their firſt Articles; and ſome ſpeak it as a Truth, that he had reſolved among his Aſſociates to bring them into Slavery: At what time *Erianthus* the *Theban* paſſed his Verdict, to pull down the City, and to leave the Country deſart; yet afterwards when there was a meeting of the Captains together, one of *Phocis* ſinging ſome of the entrance to the *Chorus* in *Euripides Electra*, which begins,

Electra, Agamemnon's *Daughter, come*
*Unto thy Deſart Palace:*

They were all diſcouraged, and it ſeemed to be a wicked Deed to deſtroy and pull down a City, which had been ſo famous, and produced ſuch Men.

Wherefore *Lyſander*, the *Athenians* yielding to him in all things, ſent for an abundance of Women-pipes out of the City, and aſſembled together all that were in the Camp, and pulled down the Walls, and burnt the Ships at the ſound of the Flute, the Aſſociates being crown'd with Garlands, and making merry together, as counting that Day the beginning of their Liberty: He preſently alſo began to alter Matters about the Government, placing thirty

thirty Rulers in the City, and ten in *Pireum*: He put a Garriſon about the City-Tower, and made *Callibius* a *Spartan* the Governor of it, who afterwards taking up his Staff to ſtrike *Autolychus* a ſtrong Man (upon whom *Xenophon* made the Book called *the Feaſt*) and he tripping up his Heels threw him to the Ground; *Lyſander* was not vexed at it, but chides him, telling him, that *Callibius* did not know that he ruled over Free-men: But the thirty Rulers, to gain *Callibius* his Favour, a little after killed *Autolychus*: But *Lyſander* coming from them, he ſails out of *Thrace*, and what remained of the Mony and the Gifts, and Garlands which he had received, they being many (as it is probable) which were given to the moſt powerful Man, and in a manner the Lord of *Greece*, he ſends to *Lacedemonia* by *Gulippus* the Captain about *Sicily*. But he (as it is reported) unſowed the Sacks at the bottom, took a great deal of Silver out of every one of them, and ſewed them up again, not knowing there was a Writing in every one which ſignified how much there was: And coming into *Sparta*, what he had thus ſtole away, he hides under the Tiles of his Houſe, and delivers up the Sacks to the Magiſtrates, and ſhows the Seals were upon them: But afterwards opening the Sacks,

and counting it, the quantity of the Silver differed from what the Writing expreſſed; and the matter cauſing ſome perplexity in the Magiſtrates; *Gulippus* his Servant tells them in a Riddle, That under the Tiles lay many Owls: for (as it ſeems) the greateſt part of the Mony among the *Athenians* was ſtamp'd with the Owl: Wherefore *Gulippus* having committed ſo foul and baſe a Deed after ſo many gallant and great Exploits before, remov'd himſelf from *Lacedemonia*.

*The ſtamp of the Athenian Mony.*

But the wiſeſt of the *Spartans* chiefly upon this thing dreading the force of Mony, as being what had corrupted the greateſt Citizens, they railed at *Lyſander*, and declared to the Magiſtrates, that all the Silver and Gold ſhould be ſent away, as being the things that brought their Miſchiefs on them. But *Theſe* conſulted about it; and *Theopompus* ſays, it was *Sciraphidas*; but *Ephorus*, that it was *Phlogidas*, who declared they ought not to receive any Gold or Silver into the City; but to uſe their own Country-Coin, which was Iron, and was firſt of all dipped in Vinegar when it was red-hot, that it might not be cover'd over with Braſs to counterfeit, but becauſe of the dipping might be hard and unpliable: Then it was very heavy and troubleſome to carry, and a great deal

*A Law of* Lycurgus,

deal of it in quantity and weight was but a little in value; and perhaps all the old Mony was ſo, uſing Iron-Coin in the faſhion of a Pyramid, though ſome Braſs-Mony, and from whence it yet continues that an abundance of ſmall Mony is called a Penny, and that a Drachm is ſix Pennies; for ſo much may be graſp'd in one's Hand: But *Lyſander*'s Friends being againſt it, and endeavouring to ſtay the Mony in the City, he thought to bring in this ſort of Mony to be uſed publickly, appointing that if any one was taken keeping of any privately, he ſhould be put to Death, as if *Lycurgus* had fear'd the Mony, and not the Covetouſneſs after it, which he did not take away by letting no private Man keep any, ſo much as he brought it into the Cities poſſeſſion, the uſefulneſs of it increaſing its value, and an eagerneſs after it: Neither was it poſſible, that what they ſaw was ſo eſteem'd publickly, they ſhould privately deſpiſe as unprofitable; and that every one ſhould think that thing could be nothing worth for his private uſe, which was ſo openly prized and beloved: And much ſooner do the manners of publick Practices flow into private Lives, than the failings and affections of particular Perſons can fill the City with wicked Deeds. For it is probable that the parts will be ra-

ther corrupted by the whole when it grows worſe; for the Vices which flow from a part into the whole find many Corrections and Remedies from thoſe who are ſound: And theſe placed Fear as a Guard and Law to the Citizens Houſes, becauſe no Mony ſhould enter into them, but kept not their Minds unſhaken and unaffected towards Mony, but ſtrove ambitiouſly after it, as counting it all a great and comely thing to be rich: But as concerning theſe things we have reproved the *Lacedemonians* in another Writing of ours.

But *Lyſander* from the Spoils in *Delphos* rais'd his own Braſs Statue, and every one of the Maſters of the Ships, as alſo the Golden Stars of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, which vaniſh'd before the Battel at *Leuctra*. In the Treaſure of *Braſidas* and the *Acanthians* there was a three-oar'd Ship made of Gold and Ivory, of two Cubits, which *Cyrus* had ſent him in honour of his Victory: But *Alexandrides* of *Delphus* writes in his Hiſtory, that there lies an hoard of *Lyſander*, * a Talent of Silver, and 52 Pounds, beſides 11 † *Stateras*: But he has not wrote agreeable to thoſe things which are confeſſed of the Poverty of the Man: Whereupon *Lyſander* being able to do

* *A Talent is* 187 *in* Heylin.

† *A* ϛατὴϱ, *is ſaid to contain* 4 *Drachms, and then one* ϛατὴϱ *is* 2 s. 6 d. *with us.*

Lyſander *not at all covetous.*

do more than any of the *Grecians* before him, ſeemed to uſe a Pride and Statelineſs greater than his Power; for he was the firſt (as *Douris* in his Hiſtory ſaith) of the *Grecians* to whom the Cities reared up Altars as to a God, and ſacrificed: To him were Songs of Triumph firſt ſung, the beginning of one of which they remember to be this, *Pride in Lyſander.*

[*we*
*Great* Greece's *Gen'ral from ſpacious* Sparta
*Will celebrate with Songs of Victory.*

And the *Samians* decreed that their Solemnities of *Juno* ſhould be called the *Lyſandrian*; and out of the Citizens he had *Cherilus* always with him, as who could adorn his Atchievements in Poetry; and to *Antilochus*, who had made ſome Verſes in his Commendation, being taken with them, he gave him an Hat full of Silver; *Antimachus* of *Colophon*, and one *Niceratus* of *Heraclea* ſtriving to out-do one another in their Poems on *Lyſander*'s Acts, he gave the Garland to *Niceratus*; at which *Antimachus* being vexed, ſuppreſſed his Poem: But *Plato* being then a young Man, and admiring *Antimachus* for his Poetry, revived and comforted him upon his brooking that Misfortune ill, telling him that Ignorance was an Evil to thoſe who were Ignorant, as Blindneſs is to thoſe who can-

cannot ſee. Afterwards truly *Ariſtonus* the Muſician who had been a Conqueror ſix times at the *Pithian* Games, told *Lyſander* to win his love, That if he overcame again, that he would proclaim himſelf *Lyſander*'s Creature, or call himſelf his Servant.

But the Ambition of *Lyſander* was not only burthenſome to the Chiefeſt and to his Equals, but there was a ſlighting and ſtiffneſs of Manners together with Ambition, becauſe of his having ſo many at his Devotion, that he took no manner of meaſure in rewarding or puniſhing any, but the Recompence of his Friends and Gueſts were uncontroulable Power over Cities, and unaccountable Governments, and the only Satisfaction of his Wrath was the Deſtruction of his Enemy; for there was no way to eſcape; fearing alſo leſt the *Mileſians*, who had at laſt been forward in taking the Peoples ſide, ſhould fly, and having a Mind to bring out thoſe who lay hid, he ſwore he would do them no harm, and they believing him and coming forth, he delivers them up to the Chief Rulers to be ſlain, there being no leſs than 800 of them all on both ſides. Alſo the Slaughter of others affected to popular Government in the Towns was not to be numbred, and whom he did not kill only for Offences againſt himſelf, but to gratifie the

*A wicked deceit in* Lyſander.

the many Hatreds, the much Covetouſneſs of his Friends every where round about him, did he help to act ſuch Deeds; from whence that of *Eteocles* the *Lacedemonian* came to be famous, ſaying, It was not poſſible for *Greece* to bear two *Lyſanders*; and *Theophraſtus* ſays, that *Archiſtratus* ſpoke the ſelf ſame thing concerning *Alcibiades*: But what was moſt grievous to be born, was his Diſdainfulneſs and Statelineſs, together with a Self-will; an harſhneſs alſo of Manners had made *Lyſander*'s Power dreadful and burthenſome: And the *Lacedemonians* did not at all concern themſelves for any other Accuſers. And afterwards when *Pharnabaſus*, having been injur'd by him, having pillaged and waſted his Country, ſent ſome to *Sparta* to inform againſt him, the Magiſtrates taking it very ill, ſlew ſome of his Friends and Fellow-Captain *Thorax*, taking him with ſome Silver privately in his Poſſeſſion; and they ſent him the Parchment-Scrowl, commanding him to return home; and this Parchment-Scrowl is made up thus. When the Magiſtrates ſend out an Admiral or General, they take two round pieces of Wood, both exactly of a Length and Thickneſs, and being cut even to one another, they keep one themſelves, and the other they give to the Perſon they ſend forth; and theſe pieces

*The manner of the* σκυτάλη, *or Parchment Staff.*

pieces of Wood they call a Scytale: Wherefore when they would mention any Secret or buſineſs of Conſequence, they making a Scrol of Parchment, long and narrow like a leathern Thong, roul it about their own Staff of Wood, leaving no ſpace void between, but covering the Appearance of the Staff with the Scrol all over; when they have done this, they write what they pleaſe on the Scrol, as it is wrapped about the Staff; and when they have written, they take off the Scrol, and ſend it to the General without the Wood; and when he has received it, he can read nothing of the Writing, becauſe the Words are not joined together, but parted aſunder; then taking his own Staff, he winds the ſlip of the Scrol about it, ſo that rowling of it up, being placed in the ſame order that it was in before, the ſecond Foldings being put after the firſt, it brings the Contents to view round the out-ſide; and this Scrol is called a Staff after the Name of the Wood, as a thing meaſured is by the Name of the Meaſure. But *Lyſander* when the Staff came to him to the *Helleſpont*, was troubled, and fearing *Pharnabaſus* his Accuſations moſt, he made haſte to diſcourſe with him, that he might end the Difference by a Meeting together: But when he came, he deſires him to write another Letter

ter to the Magiſtrates, that he had not been wrong'd, neither called any one into queſtion for any. But he was ignorant that *Pharnabaſus* (as it is in the Proverb) plaid the Cheat with the Cheater; for pretending to do all things openly, he wrote ſuch a Letter as *Lyſander* would, but had privately there written another; and when they came to clap on the Seals, he changes the Tablets, which differ'd not at all to look upon, and gives him that Letter which had been written privately: Wherefore *Lyſander* coming to *Lacedemonia*, and going, as the cuſtom is, to the Palace, he gave *Pharnabaſus* his Letter to the Magiſtrates, being perſwaded that his greateſt Accuſation was taken off; for *Pharnabaſus* was beloved of the *Lacedemonians*, being the moſt expert in War of all the King's Captains: But after the Magiſtrates had read the Letter they ſhew'd it him, and he underſtood that *Ulyſſes* was not the only deceitful Perſon, and being then deſperately troubled, he goes his way; but a few days after, being preſent among the Rulers, he ſaid he muſt go up to *Hammon*'s Temple, and offer to God his Sacrifices which he had vowed before the Battel; for ſome ſpake it of a Truth, that in his beſieging the City of the *Aphygeans* in *Thrace*, that *Ammon* ſtood by him in his Sleep:

*A curious Stratagem of* Pharnabaſus, *and for which and other Exploits* Lyſander *is deſervedly cenſured by* Cornelius Nepos, p. 35.

Sleep: Whereupon raiſing the Siege, as if God had commanded it, he bids the *Ephygeans* ſacrifice to *Ammon*, and going into *Libya*, he makes haſte to appeaſe the God: But moſt were of Opinion, that God was but the Pretence, and that in reality he was afraid of the Magiſtrates, and that neither bearing the Yoke at home, nor enduring to obey, was deſirous to wander and walk abroad; juſt like a Horſe returning from open Feeding and Paſture preſently into the Stable, and is put again to his accuſtomed Work; for that which *Ephorus* writes to be the Cauſe of his Travelling about, I ſhall relate by and by; and having hardly and with difficulty obtained leave of the Magiſtrates to depart, he ſets Sail: But the Rulers, while he was on his Voyage, conſidering that he kept the Cities in Poſſeſſion by his Friends, that he ruled all things, and was Lord of *Greece*, brought it about ſo as to give up the Affairs to the People, and to throw his Friends out: Wherefore a Diſturbance being made again about theſe things, and firſt of all the *Athenians* from the *Phile* ſetting upon the thirty, and ſeizing them, *Lyſander* coming upon them, perſwaded the *Lacedemonians* to help the chief Rulers, and to puniſh the People; and to the thirty Governors they ſend an hundred Talents for the

*A Caſtle by* Athens.

the War, and make *Lyſander* their Captain: But the Rulers envied him, and fearing leſt he ſhould take *Athens* again, reſolved that one of them ſhould march forth; And *Pauſanias* went, making in words as if he had been for the Tyrants againſt the People, but in reality to deſtroy the War, that *Lyſander* by the Means of his Friends might not become Lord of *Athens* again; and which he therefore brought eaſily to paſs; for, reconciling the *Athenians*, and quieting the Tumults, he prevented the Ambition of *Lyſander*: But a little after, the *Athenians* rebelling again, he pretended the Cauſe was, that the People having been bridled in by the Rule of the few Chief, and now let looſe again, broke out into Affronts and Inſolence; and to *Lyſander* he gave the Praiſe of a Perſon, who had employed his Arms not in Gratification of others, nor for Applauſe, but ſtrictly for the good of *Sparta*.

His Speech alſo was bold and daunting to ſuch as oppoſed him; for the *Argives* contending about the Bounds of their Land, and thinking they brought juſter Pleas than the *Lacedemonians*, holding out his Sword, *He* (ſaith he) *that is Maſter of this, talks beſt about the Bounds of the Land*: But a Man of *Megara* being at a Meeting together, taking freedom with him:

*Sharp Sayings of* Lyſander.

him: *Thy words* (ſaith he) *O Stranger! require the City.* And the *Bœotians* who ſtood neuter, he ask'd, *Whether they would paſs through their Country with their Spears ſtreight upright, or bending down?* And afterwards when the *Athenians* revolted, coming to the Walls, he perceives the *Lacedemonians* were ſlow in making the Aſſault; and a Hare was ſeen to leap thro' the Ditch: *Are ye not aſhamed* (ſaith he) *to fear ſuch Enemies, for whoſe very lazineſs the Hares ſleep upon their Walls?*

But afterwards King *Agis* died, and leaving his Brother *Ageſilaus*, and *Leotychides*, who was his ſuppoſed Son; *Lyſander* being a Lover of *Ageſilaus*, he perſwaded him to lay claim to the Kingdom, as being a true Off-ſpring of *Hercules*: though *Leotychides* was ſlandered as if he ſprung from *Alcibiades*, who liv'd privately in familiarity with *Timaia* the Wife of *Agis*, all the time he was a Fugitive in *Sparta*: But *Agis* (as they ſay) computing the time, concluded the matter, that ſhe could not conceive by him, neglected *Leotychides*, and did openly diſown him all along: But afterwards when he was ſick, being carried to *Herea*, and being ready to die, what by the Importunities of the young Man himſelf, and of his Friends, in the preſence of many he declar'd *Leotychides*

*Leotychides declared Succeſſor.*

*tychides* to be his Son, and desiring those who were present to witness this to the *Lacedemonians*, he died: Wherefore they did testifie these things to *Leotychides*: And *Agesilaus* being otherwise a gallant Person, and intimate with *Lysander* his Fellow-Warrior, *Diopithes* abused, a Man famous for speaking of Oracles, and who made this Prophecy upon *Agesilaus*'s Lameness.

Sparta, *though thou boast'st, and art an haughty Dame,*
*And sound in Feet, in thy Kingdom yet who's lame*
*Shall hurt thee, long and unexpected Toils shall come,*
*And slaughtering Wars thee upon its Waves consume.*

Wherefore many submitting to the Oracle, and interpreting it concerning *Leotychides*, *Lysander* said, that *Diopithes* did not take the Prophecy rightly; for it was not that God would be offended if any lame Person ruled over the *Lacedemonians*; but that the Kingdom would be a lame one, if Bastards and base born should govern the Posterity of *Hercules*: Having said these things, and being very powerful with them, he perswaded, and *Agesi-*

Ageſilaus *made King by* Lyſander *factiouſly.*

*laus* is made King: Preſently therefore *Lyſander* ſpurred and egged him on to make War in *Aſia*, putting him in hopes that he might deſtroy the *Perſians*, and become ſome Great Man: And he wrote to his Friends in *Aſia*, bidding them deſire *Ageſilaus* to be Captain of the *Lacedemonians* in the War againſt the *Barbarians*; which they were perſwaded to, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lacedemonia* to entreat it; which ſeem'd to *Ageſilaus* to be an Honour done him by *Lyſander*, not leſs than that of the Kingdom: But ambitious Natures, which otherwiſe are not unfit for Rule, yet envying their Equals upon the account of Glory, is no ſmall hinderance to Heroick Actions; for they make thoſe the Adverſaries of Virtue, whom they might fitly uſe as Fellow-helpers to it: Wherefore *Ageſilaus* plac'd *Lyſander* among his thirty Counſellors, uſing him for his eſpecial and chiefeſt Friend: And when they were come into *Aſia*, the Inhabitants not having any Familiarity, talk'd with him but little and ſeldom; but *Lyſander*, becauſe of their frequent Converſation formerly, his Friends out of Obſervance, wicked Men for fear, came often about the Gates, and waited upon him; juſt as in Tragedies it not unfitly falls out about the Actors, the Perſon who repreſents a Meſſenger or Servant

vant is much taken notice of, and bears a chief part, while he who wears the Crown and Scepter is not heard to ſpeak: Even ſo was it about the Counſellor, he had all that was valuable in Government, and to the King was left the empty name of Power: Wherefore this diſproportionable Ambition ought to be reprov'd ſomething on both ſides; for *Lyſander* ſhould have taken the ſecond place in the Devoirs; and wholly to caſt off and deſpiſe, becauſe he was honoured, one who was his Benefactor and Friend, was not worthy *Ageſilaus* to ſuffer; for firſt of all, he gave him no opportunity for any Action, neither ſet him in any Place of Command; then, for whomſoever he perceived him an Agent or ſtirring for, thoſe he ever ſent away diſappointed of all, and making them have leſs than they had, ſilently deſtroying and weak'ning his Power.

Ageſilaus *ſomething ungrateful to* Lyſander.

So *Lyſander* miſcarrying in every thing, and perceiving that his Diligence for his Friends was but an hindrance to them, he forbore to help them, entreating them that they would not addreſs themſelves to, nor obſerve him, that they would ſpeak to the King, for Perſons in Power could be more profitable to them at preſent, than thoſe who had beſtowed their Honours on them: Many hearing theſe things, forbore

to trouble him about their Concerns; but their Obſervances to him they did not leave off, but waited upon him in the Walks and Places of Exerciſe. At which *Ageſilaus* was more grieved than he was before, envying him the Honour; inſomuch that when he gave many of the Soldiers Places of Command, and the Governments of Cities, he made *Lyſander* the Caterer of his Proviſions; after in an inſulting manner over the *Ionians*, *Let them go* (ſaith he) *now, and pay their Devoirs to my Caterer:* Whereupon *Lyſander* thought fit to come and ſpeak with him; their Diſcourſe was ſhort and after the *Laconick* manner: *Truly you know very well,* O Ageſilaus, *how to depreſs your Friends*; *Yes verily* (ſaith he) *when they would be greater than my ſelf*; *but thoſe who increaſe my Power, it is juſt they ſhould ſhare in it: But truly,* O Ageſilaus, *this is rather ſaid by you than that ever I did it: and I intreat you becauſe of the Men without who are Eying of us, to put me under your Command there, where being placed, you may judge me to be the leaſt offenſive, and moſt uſeful.* Upon this he was ſent Ambaſſador to the *Helleſpont:* And tho' he was angry with *Ageſilaus*, yet did not neglect to perform his Duty: And making *Mithridates* the *Perſian*, being offended with

with *Pharnabaſus* a Gallant Man, and having an Army with him, to revolt, he brought him to *Ageſilaus*, tho' he was not at all Serviceable to him for the War: But time drawing on, he ſails for *Sparta* diſgracefully, being angry with *Ageſilaus*, and hating this other Form of Government more than he did at firſt, and the things which had a long time lain ready and contriv'd for Change and Rebellion, he then reſolved to ſet about and not to delay; the Stratagem was this: The *Heraclidæ* mixing with the *Dorians*, and coming into *Peloponneſus*, they became a numerous and brave Race in *Sparta*; but every Family was not to ſucceed in the Kingdom, but two only were to Reign, call'd the *Eurutiontidæ* and the *Agiadæ*, but the reſt had no privilege in the Government by their Nobility of Birth; and the Honours which follow'd Virtue lay open to all who could obtain them. So that *Lyſander* being poſſeſſed of ſuch, as ſoon as he was come into great Renown for his Exploits, and had got great Friends and Power, he was vex'd to ſee the City, which had increaſed to what it was by him, to be ruled by others, not at all better deſcended than himſelf: And he reſolved to remove the Government from the two Families, and to put it in common to all the *Heraclidæ*; and as

Lyſander deſerving.

ſome ſay, not to the *Heraclidæ* only, but to all the *Spartans*; that the reward might not be to the Poſterity of *Hercules*, but to thoſe who ſhould be judged ſuch as *Hercules* was in Virtue, which raiſed even him to the Honour of the Gods; and he hoped that when the Kingdom was thus contended for, that no *Spartan* ſhould be choſen before himſelf; wherefore he firſt attempted and prepared to perſwade the Citizens privately, and he ſpread abroad the Speech penn'd according to the ſuppoſal of *Cleon* the *Halicarnaſſean*. Afterwards perceiving the unlikelihood and greatneſs of this new-invented buſineſs required more bold Aſſiſtance, as it is in a Tragedy raiſing an Engine for the Citizens, *he added and devis'd Anſwers and Oracles from *Apollo*, as being not able to prevail any thing by the Artifice of *Cleon*, unleſs Terrifying and Conquering them by ſome awful fear and dread of God, he ſecretly brought the Citizens to believe the Report: Wherefore *Ephorus* doth ſay, that after he had endeavour'd to corrupt the Oracle of *Apollo*, and had again failed to perſwade thoſe of *Dodona* by *Pherecles*, that he went to *Ammon*, and diſcours'd with the Inhabitants, proffering them a great deal of Gold: But they taking this very ill, ſent ſome to *Sparta* to accuſe *Lyſander*; and

** This is to repreſent ſome God coming down to them.*

and after he was departed, the *Libyan* going-away, ſaid, *We, O* Spartans, *ſhall better judge, when Ye come to dwell with us in* Libya: There being a certain ancient Oracle, that the *Lacedemonians* ſhould dwell in *Libya:* But the whole Intreigue and Subtilty of the Contrivance being no ordinary one, neither begun by mean Perſons, but comprehending many and great Suppoſals, as in a Mathematical Diagram, and proceeding from intricate and hard Premiſes to a Concluſion, we will explain, following the Words of a certain Hiſtorian and Philoſopher.

There was a Woman in *Pontus* ſaid to conceive by *Apollo*, which many (as it is probable) disbelieved, and many alſo gave credit to, and when ſhe had brought forth a Man-child, the Name given the Boy was *Silenus* for a certain Reaſon: *Lyſander* taking this for the Ground-work, he frames and deviſes the reſt himſelf, making uſe of not a few, and they no mean Champions of a Story, and who brought the report of the Child's Birth into credit without any ſuſpicion: And they ſpread abroad another Story, as if there were ſome very old Oracles which were kept by the Prieſts in Private Writings; and they were not to be medled with, neither was it lawful to read them, till one in after times

*A very ungodly device of* Lyſander.

ſhould come deſcended from *Apollo*, and give ſome known Token to the Keepers, and ſhould take the Books where the Oracles were. Wherefore things being thus ordered before-hand, *Silenus* muſt come and ask for the Oracles, as being the Child of *Apollo*, and thoſe Prieſts who were fellow-Agents were narrowly to ſearch into all particulars, and to queſtion him concerning his Birth; and finally, they were to be convinc'd, and, as to *Apollo*'s Son, to deliver him up the Writings: Then as he was Reading in the Preſence of many, ſeveral Prophecies, and that about the Kingdom, for which this Contrivance was, that it would be better, and more deſirable to the *Spartans*, to chuſe their Kings out of the chiefeſt Citizens: And now *Silenus* being grown up to a Youth, and fit for the Action. *Lyſander* miſcarried in the buſineſs by the fearfulneſs of one of the Deſigners and Agents, juſt as he came to the Point, fainting and drawing back: Yet nothing was found out while *Lyſander* liv'd, until after his Death; for he died before *Ageſilaus* came back from *Aſia*, being killed in the *Beotian* War, or rather in the beſieging of *Greece*, for it is ſpoken both ways; and the cauſe of it ſome make to be himſelf, others the *Thebans*, and ſome both; objecting to the *Thebans* the caſting

ſting away of the Sacrifices at *Aulis*, and that being corrupted with the King's Mony about *Androclides* and *Amphitheus*, they entangled the *Lacedemonians* in the *Grecian* War, that they ſet upon the *Phoceans*, and waſted their Country: And they ſay that *Lyſander* was angry that the *Thebans* ſhould claim to themſelves a tenth Part of the Spoils of the War, the reſt of their Aſſociates taking it quietly; and they were offended about the Mony which *Lyſander* ſent to *Sparta*, eſpecially becauſe he had opened a beginning for the *Athenians* to free themſelves from the 30 Tyrants, whom *Lyſander* had made. And the *Lacedemonians* to put Courage and Dread in them, decreed that thoſe who fled out of *Athens* might be apprehended any where, and that they ſhould be out of League who reſiſted thoſe who took them; to this the *Thebans* Counter-ordered what was becoming and agreeable to the Actions of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, that every Houſe and City in *Beotia* ſhould be opened to the *Athenians* who required it, and that he who did not help a Fugitive who was ſeized, ſhould be fined a Talent for Damage; and if any one ſhould bear Arms through *Beotia* to *Attica* againſt the Tyrants, that none of the *Thebans* ſhould ſeem either to ſee or hear of it; and as they decreed

*Contrary Orders.*

decreed things not ſo *Greek*-like and loving to Mankind, ſo neither did they ſquare their Actions agreeable to what they ſaid: For *Thraſibulus** and thoſe who were with him, having taken the *Phyle*, made an Aſſault with the *Thebans*, took Arms and Mony privately, and begun, the *Thebans* helping them: Wherefore *Lyſander* took theſe Faults againſt the *Thebans*, and being now grown very fierce by Anger, through a Melancholy which increas'd in his old Age, he urg'd the Magiſtrates and perſwaded them to ſend a Garriſon with him, and taking the Commanders place, he marches forth with the Army; and at laſt he ſends forth *Pauſanias* alſo the King with a Company: Now *Pauſanias* going round by *Citheron** he was about to invade *Beotia*: And *Lyſander* through *Phocis* met him, with an abundance of Soldiers; and he took the City of the *Orchomenians*, who freely yielded, and ſetting upon *Lebadia*, he waſted it; he diſpatch'd alſo Letters to *Pauſanias*, ordering him from *Platea* to join Forces at *Haliartus*, and that himſelf would be at the Walls of *Haliartus* by break of Day: Theſe Letters were brought to the *Thebans*, the Carrier of them falling into the Hands of the Spies; but theſe being aided by the *Athenians*, entruſted their City with them; and they ſallying out

* Thrabulus *with* Lyſander *his help Wars againſt* Athens.

* *A Hill in* Beotia.

Lyſander *makes War with* Thebes.

out about the firſt ſleep, came to *Haliartus* a little before *Lyſander*, and part of them entered into the City: But he firſt of all reſolv'd, making his Army ſit down upon an Hill, to ſtay for *Pauſanias*: Then the Day drawing on, not being able to reſt, he ruſhes forward together with his Arms and Fellow-Warriors, and in a long Body he leads them on to the Wall. But thoſe *Thebans* who tarried without, taking the City on the left hand, they haſted to the farthermoſt of their Enemies, being by the Fountain which is called *Ciſſeuſa*: Here they tell the Story that the Nurſes waſhed Infant *Bacchus* from the filth of being born; for the colour of it is bright like Wine, clear, and mighty pleaſant to drink; and not far off the *Cretian Storax** grows all about, which the *Aliartians* make to be ſigns of *Radamanthus* having dwelt there, and they ſhew his Sepulchre, calling it *Alea:* and the Monument alſo of *Alcmena* is hard by; for there (as they ſay) ſhe was buried when ſhe had married *Radamanthus* after *Amphitryo*'s Death: But the *Thebans* within the City being in order with the *Haliartians*, ſtood ſtill in the mean time. But as ſoon as they ſaw *Lyſander* with thoſe who were foremoſt approaching, on a ſudden opening the Gates and falling on, they kill him with a Prophet, and a few others beſides;

* *A perfumed Gum.*

Lyſander *killed.*

beſides; for the greateſt Part preſently fled back to the main Army. But the *Thebans* not ſlack'ning, but cloſely purſuing them, they turned again to fly towards the Hills: There were 1000 of them ſlain; there died alſo of the *Thebans* 300, being killed with their Enemies, by chaſing them into craggy and defenced Places: Theſe were guilty of Treachery with the *Lacedemonians*, which being induſtrious to wipe off with the Citizens, and not ſparing themſelves in the Purſuit, were deſtroyed. This Slaughter was told to *Pauſanias* as he was going on the way from *Platea* to *Theſpias*, and having ſet his Army in order, he came to *Haliartus*: *Thraſibulus* alſo came from *Thebes* leading the *Athenians*.

Lacedemonians *defeated.*

*Pauſanias* alſo having a Mind to require the dead by a Truce, the Elders of *Sparta* took it ill, and were angry among themſelves, and coming to the King, declared that *Lyſander* ſhould not be taken away upon any Conditions; if they fought it out by Arms about his Body, and conquered, that then they might bury the Man; if they were overcome, that it was glorious to die upon the Spot with their Commander; when the Elders had ſpoken theſe things, *Pauſanias* ſaw it would be a difficult Buſineſs to vanquiſh the *Spartans*, who had but juſt before been Conquerors; that

Paufanias *requeſts* Lyſander *his Body.*

that *Lyſander*'s Body alſo lay near the Walls, ſo that it would be hard for them, tho' they overcame, to take it away without a Truce; he ſends an Herald, obtains a Treaty, draws his Forces backwards; and in the firſt place they carry away *Lyſander*: They were about the Borders of *Beotia*, and they buried him in a Friends and Aſſociates Country of the *Panopeans*; whoſe Monument continues ſtill as ye go in the Road from *Delphos* to *Cheronea*: Now the Army quartering there, it is ſaid that a Perſon of *Phocis* relating the Battel to one who was not in it, ſaid, the Enemies fell upon them after *Lyſander* had paſſed over *Oplites*; who wondering, a Man of *Sparta*, *Lyſander*'s Friend, asked what *Oplites* he meant, for he did not know the Name; *Yet there* (ſaid he) *the Enemies deſtroyed our chief Men:* And that River by the City they call *Oplites:* Which when the *Spartan* heard he wept, and ſaid, *How unavoidable to Man is Fate!* For (it ſeems) the Oracle given to *Lyſander* was thus:

*Murmuring* Oplites, *I charge thee bear in mind,*
*And who th' Earth-born Dragon ſubt'ly comes behind.*

Some

Some indeed do ſay *Oplites* doth not run to *Haliartus*, but is a Brook towards *Chonorea*, paſſing along to the City with the River *Philiarus*, and which formerly they called *Oplias*, but now *Iſomantus*.

But the Man of *Haliartus* who killed *Lyſander*, by name *Neocorus*, bore in his Shield the Dragon; and this, it is probable, the Oracle ſignified. It is reported there was an Oracle in *Iſmenius* about the *Thebans* in the *Peloponneſian* War, which foretold both of the Battel at *Delium*, and this at *Haliartus*, though this was after that 30 Years: It was ſo;

*Hunting the Wolf, of th' outmoſt Bound beware,*
*And th' Hill* Orchalides, *where Foxes always are.*

This place therefore about *Delium*, he calls the outmoſt Border, by which *Beotia* is bounded upon *Attica:* And the Hill *Orchalides*, which now they call Fox-den, lies in the Parts of *Haliartus* towards *Helicon*.

But ſuch a Death befalling *Lyſander*, immediately the *Spartans* took it ſo grievouſly, that they would have put the King to a Trial for his Life, which he not ſtanding to, fled into *Tegea*, and there led a devout Life

Life in the Temple of *Minerva*. The Poverty alſo of *Lyſander* being diſcovered by his Death, made his Virtue more manifeſt, that from ſo much Wealth and Power, from the Addreſſes of the Cities, and from ſuch a Kingdom, did not in the leaſt ennoble his Houſe upon the account of Riches, as *Theopompus* in his Hiſtory relates, whom any one may rather give Credit to when he commends, that when he finds fault: For it is more pleaſing to blame than to praiſe. In the laſt place, *Ephorus* ſaith, ſome Controverſie being among the Aſſociates of the War of *Sparta*, and the Writings which *Lyſander* had kept by him were to be ſearch'd into, *Ageſilaus* came to his Houſe, and finding a Book wherein a Diſcourſe about Government was written, how the Kingdom was to be taken from the *Eurutiontidæ* and *Agidæ*, and to be put in common, and a choice to be made out of the chiefeſt Perſons; he intended to publiſh this Diſcourſe to the Citizens, and to ſhew them what a Citizen *Lyſander* was in private. But *Lacratidas*, a wiſe Man, and Preſident of the Magiſtrates then, hindered *Ageſilaus*, and ſaid, they ought not to dig up *Lyſander* again, but to bury with him a Diſcourſe, compos'd ſo plauſibly and ſubtilly. They did alſo beſtow other Honours on him now he was dead;

Lyſander *dyed very poor.*

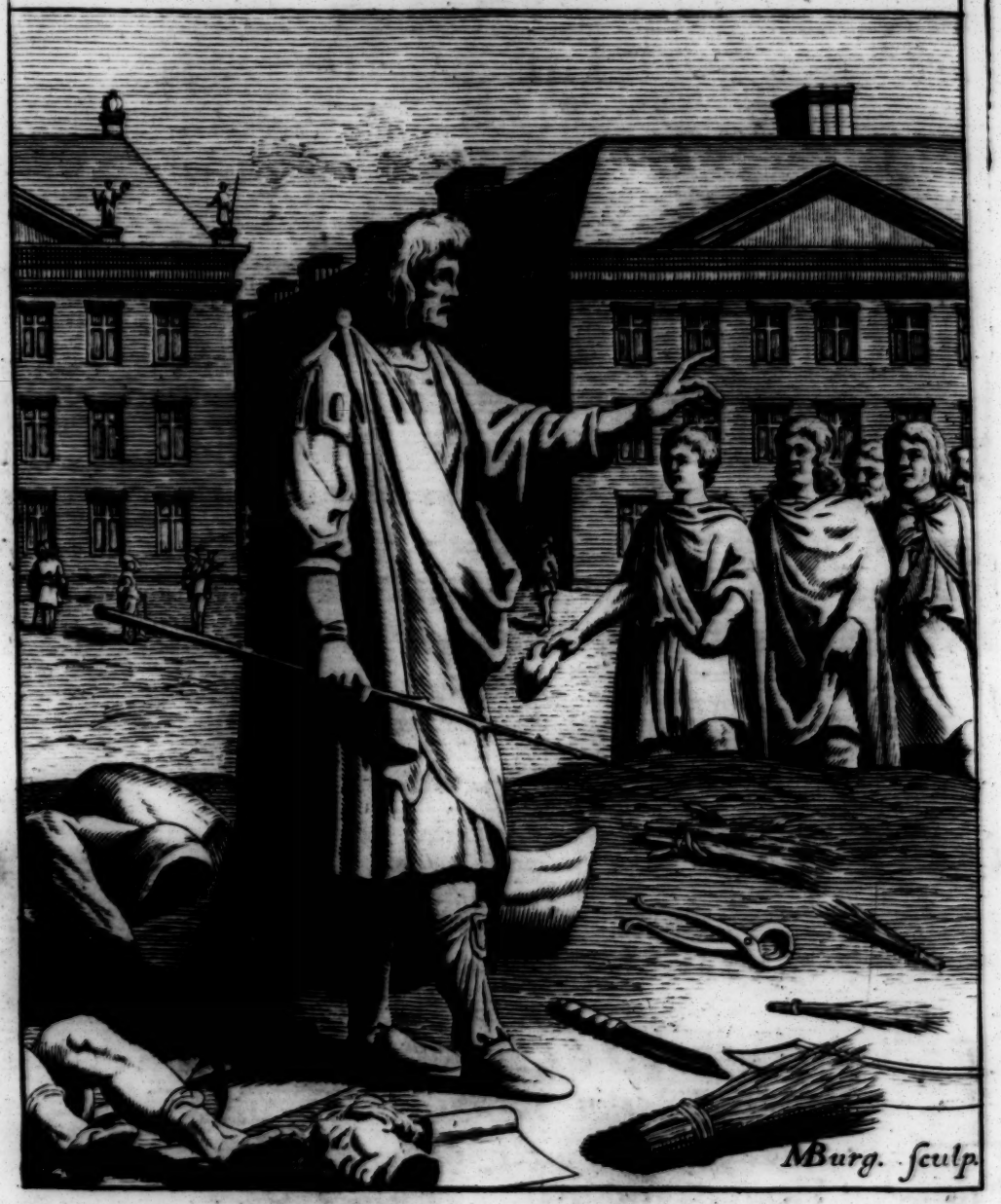
dead; for they ſet a Fine upon thoſe who had engaged themſelves to his Daughters, and then when *Lyſander* was found to be poor, after his Deceaſe, refuſed them, becauſe when they thought him rich, they were obſervant of him, but by his Poverty perceiving him juſt and good, they forſook him. For there was (it ſeems) in *Sparta*, a Puniſhment for none at all, for a late, and for a bad Marriage: But to this were thoſe moſt eſpecially Obnoxious, who ſought Alliances with rich inſtead of good and uſeful Friends. Wherefore we have written that theſe things concerning *Lyſander* were ſo.

*Somewhat an odd Law of* Lycurgus.

---

THE

# SYLLA.




Here Sylla lays his Arms and Empire down
He quitts his power, and takes a private gown
Example Strange! and which we scarce beleive;
Fierce Tyrants sheath their swords, and yet they live!

# THE LIFE OF *L. C. SYLLA.*

Engliſhed from the *Greek*, by *WILLIAM DAVIES*, Fellow of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*.

## VOLUME III.

*Lucius Cornelius Sylla* was deſcended of a *Patrician* or Noble Family. Of his Anceſtors, *Ruſinus*, they ſay, had been Conſul, and that his Honour met with a more ſignal Diſgrace. For being found poſſeſſed of Plate, to the value of above ten Pounds more than the Law

allow'd, he was thereupon put out of the Senate: His Poſterity have lain ever ſince in obſcurity, nor had *Sylla* himſelf any ſuch ſplendid Education. In his younger Days he dwelt in hired Lodgings, for which he paid but a very ſmall rate, inſomuch as in after-times it was upbraided to him, as one who had been fortunate above his Quality. And as he was boaſting and magnifying himſelf for his Exploits in *Libya*, a Perſon of Worth and Ingenuity made Anſwer; *And how canſt thou be an honeſt Man, who ſince the death of a Father, who left thee nothing, haſt purchaſed ſo much?* The then preſent Age was not abſolutely an Age of clean and upright Manners, but was already declin'd and fallen in love with Riches and Luxury: However then, in this Gentleman's Opinion, they who had deſerted the Ancient Hereditary Meanneſs of their Family, were as much to blame as thoſe, who had run out a fair Eſtate. And after, when he had ſeiz'd the Power into his Hands, and ſlew many, a Freeman of the City, held ſuſpect to have concealed one of the Proſcribed, and for that Reaſon ſentenc'd to be caſt headlong down the *Tarpeian* Rock, in a reproachful way, recounted, how that they had lived long together in familiar converſe under the ſame Roof, himſelf for the

the upper Rooms paying two thouſand Seſterces, and *Sylla* for the lower three thouſand; ſo as the difference between their Fortunes then was no more but one thouſand Seſterces, which in *Attick* Coin give two hundred and fifty Drachma's. And thus much of his Original.

*At ſeven pence half penny a Drachma.*

His other ſhape of Body appears by his Statues, only his grey Eyes, of themſelves extream fierce and glaring, the complexion of his Face rendred yet more formidable to look on, for it brake out into red fiery Pimples, intermixt here and there with ſpots of white. Hence, by report, he was ſurnamed *Sylla*, in alluſion to which an *Athenian* Droll caſt out this Scoff in Verſe,

Sylla's *a Mulberry dredg'd o'er with Meal.*

Nor is it improper to make uſe of ſuch Remarks as theſe, in the decyphering of a Perſon, who by Nature was ſo addicted to Raillery, as in his youthful obſcurer Years he would converſe freely with Mimicks and Jeſters, and accompany them in all their wild Fegaries. And, when Lord of All, he was often wont to muſter together the moſt impudent Stage-Players and merry Fellows of the Town, to drink with, and play Prizes of Wit, without ſeaſonable

regard had to his Age or Dignity of his Place, and to the prejudice of other important Affairs. At hours of refreſhment it was not in *Sylla*'s Nature to admit of any thing that was ſerious, and though at other times he was a Man of buſineſs, and ſomewhat of auſtere Countenance, yet would he alter ſo all of a ſudden, at his firſt entrance upon Wine and good Fellowſhip, as to Minſtrels and Dancing Women he became tractable, and to all ſorts of Humours pliant and condeſcending. The cauſe of this looſe Diſtemper in him, could be no other than Nature her ſelf, ever prone to love and violently breaking forth into all manner of Voluptuouſneſs, from which in his old Age he could not refrain. He conſtantly from his Youth affected *Macrobius*, the Player. In his firſt Amours it happen'd, that he made court to a common but rich Lady, *Nicopolis* by Name, and what by the air of his Youth, and what by an agreeable Behaviour, won ſo far on her Affections in Quality of a Gallant, as dying ſhe bequeathed him her whole Subſtance; he likewiſe inherited the Eſtate of a Mother-in-Law, who loved him as her own Son. By theſe means he had pretty well advanced his Fortunes.

He was choſen *Queſtor* to *Marius* in his firſt Conſulſhip, and ſet ſail with him for *Africa*,

*Africa*, to War upon *Jugurtha*. Here as to other Points he approved himſelf to all Men, but more eſpecially, by cloſing in dexterouſly with an accidental Occaſion, made a Friend of *Boccus* King of *Numidia*. For having honourably entertained the King's Ambaſſadors, after their eſcape from *Numidian* Robbers, he ſent them on their Journey with Preſents and a ſafe Convoy. As for *Bocchus*, he had long ſince hated and dreaded his Son-in-Law, *Jugurtha*, who at that time had been worſted in the Field, and fled to him for ſhelter: Wherefore ſpying his Opportunity, he called *Sylla* in, as chuſing by ~~him~~, rather than by himſelf, to make ſeiſure and delivery of *Jugurtha*. *Sylla*, when he had communicated the Buſineſs to *Marius*, and received from him a ſmall Detachment, put himſelf on eminent Danger; for confiding in a *Barbarian*, and one who had been unfaithful to his own Relations, out of deſire to apprehend another Man's Perſon, he made ſurrender of his own. *Bocchus*, having both of them now in his Power, was neceſſitated to betray one or other, and after long debate with himſelf, at laſt reſolved on his firſt Deſign, and gave up *Jugurtha* into the Hands of *Sylla*.

For this *Marius* Triumphed, but the Glory of the Enterprize, which the con-

ſcious Envy of *Marius* thought due to *Sylla*, griev'd him inwardly. And the truth on it is, *Sylla* himſelf was by Nature vain-glorious, and this being the firſt time, that from a low and private condition he had riſen to Eſteem amongſt the Citizens, and taſted of Honour, his Ambition bore him up higher to ſuch a pitch of Oſtentation, as to cauſe the Figure of this Action to be engraved on a Signet, which he made uſe of ever after. The Impreſs was, Bocchus *delivering and* Sylla *receiving of* Jugurtha. This toucht *Marius* to the quick, however judging *Sylla* to be below a Rival, he made uſe of him as Lieutenant-General in his ſecond Conſulſhip, and in his third, as Tribune. And by his means were many conſiderable Services done. In his Lieutenant-Generalſhip he took *Copillus*, Chief of the *Tectoſages*, Priſoner, and compelled the *Marſians*, a great and populous Nation, to become Friends and Confederates of the *Romans*.

From henceforward *Sylla* perceiving that *Marius* bore a jealous Eye over him, and would no longer afford him Opportunities of Action, but rather oppoſed his growth, he applied himſelf to *Catulus*, *Marius* his Collegue, a brave Man, only ſomewhat unactive as to War; under this General, who

who entruſted him with the chiefeſt and greateſt Commands, it came to paſs, that, together with Glory, he arriv'd at Power. He ſubdued by Arms moſt part of the *Alpine Barbarians*. There happ'ning a ſcarcity in the Armies, he took that care upon himſelf, and brought in ſuch ſtore of Proviſions, as not only to refreſh the Soldiers of *Catulus* with Plenty, but likewiſe to ſupply *Marius*. This, as he writes himſelf, ſtruck *Marius* to the very Heart. So ſlight and childiſh was the firſt beginning and riſe of that Enmity between them, which nouriſhed with Civil Blood and endleſs Diviſions, grew up to Tyranny, and the Confuſion of the whole State. This argues *Euripides* to be a wiſe Man, and well skilled in the Diſtempers of the Body Politick, in that he forewarn'd all Men to beware of *Ambition*, as the moſt deſtructive and pernicious Goddeſs to thoſe who conſult her.

*Sylla* by this time thinking that the Reputation of his Arms abroad was ſufficient to entitle him to part of the Civil Adminiſtration, betook himſelf immediately from the Camp to the Aſſembly, and fell a canvaſing for a Prætorſhip, but loſt it. The fault of this diſappointment he wholly aſcribes to the People, who knowing his Intimacy with King *Bocchus*, and for that

reaſon expecting, that if he was made Ædile before his Prætorſhip, that he would then ſhew them noble Game, and the Encounters of *Lybian* Beaſts, choſe other Prætors, on purpoſe to force him on the Ædileſhip. The Vanity of this Pretect was ſufficiently diſproved by matter of fact. For the Year following, partly by ſtroaking the People with fair Words, and partly by Mony, he got himſelf elected Prætor. Wherefore carrying the Place, and withal haſtily telling *Cæſar*, that againſt him he ſhould make uſe of his *Own* Authority, *Cæſar* ſmilingly replied, *You do well to call it your own; for you have bought it.* At the end of his Prætorſhip he was ſent over into *Cappadocia*, with a ſpecious Pretence, to re-eſtabliſh *Ariobarzanes* in his Kingdom, but in reality to give check to the growing Power of *Mithridates*, a mighty ſtirring Prince, who had already inveſted himſelf in as vaſt a new-acquired Power and Dominion, as was that of his ancient Inheritance. He carried over with him no great Forces of his own, but making uſe of the chearful ſupply of the Confederates, flung out *Gordius*, with huge Slaughter of the *Cappadocians*, more eſpecially of the *Armenian* Succours, and declared *Ariobarzanes* King.

During his ſtay on the Banks of *Euphrates* there

there came unto him *Orobazus*, a *Parthian*, in quality of Ambaſſador from King *Arſaces*, whereas yet there had been no Correſpondence between both Nations. And this we may lay to the account of *Sylla*'s Felicity, that he ſhould be the firſt *Roman* to whom the *Parthians* made Addreſs for Alliance and Friendſhip. At the time of Reception, having ordered three Chairs of State to be ſet, one for *Ariobarzanes*, one for *Orobazus*, and a third for himſelf, he placed himſelf in the midſt, and gave Audience: For which the King of *Parthia* afterwards put *Orobazus* to death. Some People commended *Sylla* for his lofty Carriage towards the *Barbarians:* Others again accuſed him of Arrogance and unſeaſonable Ambition. It is reported, that a certain *Chalcidian*, of *Orobazus* his Retinue, looking *Sylla* wiſtfully in the Face, and obſerving judicially the Motions of his Soul and Body, according to the Rules of Art, ſhould ſay, *That it was impoſſible for him not to be the greateſt Man, or rather a wonder how he could even then abſtain from being Head of all.* Romans and Parthians.

At his return *Cenſorinus* impeach'd him of Extortion, for drawing a vaſt Sum of Mony from a well-affected and aſſociate Kingdom. However *Cenſorinus* appeared not at the Trial, but let fall his Accuſation. The Quarrel

Quarrel between *Sylla* and *Marius* began to break out afreſh, receiving new Life from the Ambition of *Bocchus*, who to pleaſe the People of *Rome*, and gratifie *Sylla*, ſet up in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* conſecrated Images of *Victory*, and withal a Golden *Jugurtha*, in Poſture as he was delivered by him to *Sylla*: But as *Marius* attempted to pull them down in a Rage, and others were aiding to *Sylla*, the City had like to have taken Fire by that violent Commotion, had not the Confederate-War, which lay long a ſmothering, blaz'd forth at laſt, and reſpited the Sedition.

In the Courſe of this War, which had many great Revolutions, and which ſhockt the *Romans* moſt, and endangered the very being of the Commonwealth, *Marius* was not able to ſignalize his Valour in any Action, but left behind him a clear Proof, that a warlike Spirit ſtands in need of a ſtrong and vigorous Body. *Sylla*, on the other Hand, by his extraordinary Deeds, got the Name of a great Commander amongſt the Citizens, of the greateſt amongſt his Friends, and the moſt Fortunate amongſt his Adverſaries. Nor made this the like Impreſſion on him, as it made on the Spirits of *Timotheus* the Son of *Conon*, an *Athenian*, who, when his Adverſaries had pictured him aſleep, and *Fortune* by his ſide, caſting

casting her Nets over Cities, rag'd and storm'd at those who did it, as if by ascribing his Successes to Fortune, they had rob'd him of his just Honours, and to the People at his return from the Wars, said, *And in this, ye Men of* Athens, *Fortune had no part.* For this high Presumption of his, the Goddess grew so perversely cross, that from that time he was never able to compass any thing that was great, but proving altogether Unfortunate in his Attempts, and falling into discredit with the People, was at last banisht the City.

*Sylla* on the contrary would not only have frankly acknowleged such Divine Felicities and Favours, but withal magnifying and extolling what was done to the Skies, had plac'd it all to Fortune, whether out of haughty Purpose, or a real Sense of the Deity. He remarks, in his Memoirs, that of all his well-advised Actions, none proved so lucky in the Execution, as what on a sudden he had boldly enterprized. And in that Character which he gives of himself, *That he was born for Fortune rather than War*, he seems to attribute more to his Fortune than Valour. In short, he makes himself entirely the Creature of Fortune, accounting even his unanimous Agreement with *Metellus*, a Man of equal Authority with himself, and his Father-in-

Law,

Law, as a Bleſſing from Heaven. For expecting to have met in him a turbulent, he found a quiet Collegue. Moreover, in thoſe Memoirs which he hath dedicated to *Lucullus*, he admoniſheth him to eſteem nothing more ſolid, than what the Gods ſhould adviſe him in a Viſion by Night. And when he was ſent forth with an Army to the Confederate-War, he relates, how that the Earth about *Laverna* opened wide, and from thence iſſued much Fire, ſhooting forth a bright Flame up to the Heavens. The Southſayers upon this foretold, that a valiant Perſon of rare and ſingular Aſpect, ſhould take the Government in hand, and quiet the preſent Troubles of the City. *Sylla* affirm'd, he was the Man, for he had that about him which was extraordinary, *a golden Head of Hair*; nor was he aſhamed openly to atteſt his Valour, after ſo great and gallant Performances. And thus much of his Opinion of the Gods.

As to the reſt of his Conditions, he was an irregular ſort of Man, inconſiſtent with himſelf: Much given to Rapine, to Prodigality much more; in promoting or diſgracing whom he pleaſed, alike unaccountable: Cringing to thoſe he ſtood in need of, and domineering over others who ſtood in need of him; ſo that it was hard to tell, whether his Nature had more in it

of

of Diſdain or Flattery. As to his unequal Diſtribution of Puniſhments, when upon ſlight Grounds he would put to the Torture, and again bear gently with the greateſt Crimes, and receive into grace the moſt hainous Tranſgreſſors upon eaſie Terms, but ſmall and inconſiderable Offences chaſtiſe with Death, and Confiſcation of Goods; one might from hence judge, that in himſelf he was really of a bitter revengeful Nature, which however he could qualifie, upon reaſon of Intereſt. In this very Confederate-War, when the Soldiers with Stones and Clubs had killed a chief Commander, his own Legate, *Albinus* by Name, he paſſed by ſuch horrid Indignity without taking Cognizance; giving it out moreover in a Boaſt, that hereafter he ſhould have the Soldiers more intent upon the War, to repair their breach of Diſcipline, by ſome notable piece of Service; nor took he notice of the Clamours of thoſe that cried for Juſtice, but caſting in Mind how to cruſh *Marius*, now that he ſaw the Confederate-War to be at an end, he made much of the Army, in hopes to get himſelf declared General of the Forces againſt *Mithridates*.

At his return to *Rome* he was choſen Conſul with *Quintus Pompeius*, in the fiftieth Year of his Age, and then he took to Wife,

Wife, the Illuſtrious Lady *Cecilia*, Daughter to *Metellus*, the Chief Prieſt. The common People made Sonnets on the Marriage, and many of the Nobility were diſguſted at it, eſteeming him, as *Livy* writes, unworthy of the Lady, whom before they thought worthy of a Conſulſhip. This was not his only Wife, for firſt in his younger Days he was joined to *Ilia*, by whom he had a Daughter; after her to *Ælia*, and then to *Cælia*, whom he diſmiſſed as barren, but with Reſpect and a good Report, adding moreover Preſents. The Match between him and *Metella* falling out a few Days after, gave Suſpicion that he had wrongfully accuſed *Cælia*: He was evermore indulgent to *Metella*, inſomuch as when he refuſed to recal the baniſht *Marians*, the People made their humble application to *Metella*. And the *Athenians*, it's thought, had harder meaſure, at the Sacking of the Town, becauſe in a jearing way, they had affronted *Metella* from off the Walls. But of this hereafter.

At preſent eſteeming the Conſulſhip but ſmall in compariſon of things to come, he was impatiently carried on in thought to the *Mithridatick* War. Here he was withſtood by *Marius*, who out of mad Affectation of Glory, and thirſt of Empire, thoſe never dying Paſſions, tho' he were broken in Body,

Body, and insufficient for the last Services, by reason of his Age, yet still coveted after Foreign and Transmarine Wars; and whilst *Sylla* was departed for the Camp, to order the rest of his Affairs there, fate brooding at home, and at last hatcht that execrable Sedition, which wrought *Rome* more mischief, than all her Enemies together could have done, as was foretold by the Gods. For a Flame broke forth of its own accord, from under the Staves of their Ensigns, and was hard to be extinguisht. Three Ravens brought forth their young and eat them, carrying the reliques into the Nest again. Mice having gnawed the consecrated Gold of the Temple, the Ædiles took one Female in a Trap, but she bringing forth five young Ones in the very Trap, devoured three of them. But what was greatest of all, in a calm and clear Sky there was heard the sound of a Trumpet, but with such a strong and dismal blast, as struck Terror and Amazement into the Hearts of the People. The *Hetruscane* Sages affirmed, that this Prodigy betok'ned the Mutation of the Age, and Revolution of the whole Universe. For according to them there be in all eight Ages, differing one from another in Lives and Conversation, and to each of these God has alloted a certain measure of times, determined by the Circuit of the great Year; when

when one Age is run out, at the approach of another, there appears ſome wonderful ſign from Earth or Heaven, as is plain to thoſe who have made it their Buſineſs to ſtudy ſuch things, that there has ſucceeded in the World a new Race of Men, diſagreeing in Cuſtoms and Inſtitutes of Life, and more or leſs regarded by the Gods, than the preceding. Amongſt other mighty Changes that happen, as they ſay, at the turn of Ages, even the Art of Divination grows into Eſteem ſometimes, and predicts Certainties from clear and evident Tokens, ſent from God: And then again, in another Generation waxes as low to a decline, as frivolous for the moſt part, taking in future Events through weak and darkſom Organs. This was the Mythology of the *Tuſcan* Sages, who were thought to be more knowing than other People. Whilſt the Senate ſate in conſultation with the Southſayers, concerning theſe Prodigies, in the Temple of *Bellona*, Goddeſs of War, a Sparrow came flying in before them all, with a Graſhopper in the Mouth; and part ſhe let fall, and part ſhe bore away. The Diviners doubted a Commotion and Diſſention to ariſe between the Country and City. For with them the clamorous Graſhopper ſignifies the Country, and a Sparrow, the City.

Now

Now *Marius* join'd to him *Sulpitius*, a Fellow ſecond to none for the moſt exquiſite Villanies, ſo as we need not enquire wherein he excelled others, but wherein he excelled himſelf in Wickedneſs. He was cruel, bold, rapacious, openly diſhoneſt, and throughout a Rogue, making ſale by outcry of the *Roman* Freedom to *Libertines* and Strangers, and telling out the Price on the pulick Mony-tables. He maintained three thouſand Sword-men, and had always about him a Company of young Gentlemen ready on all Occaſions, whom he ſtiled his *Antiſenatarian-band*; having cauſed a Law to be enacted, that no Senator ſhould contract a Debt of above three thouſand Drachma's, he himſelf, after Death, was found indebted three Millions. This was the Man whom *Marius* let in upon the Commonwealth, and who ordering all things by Force and the Sword, made ſeveral Ordinances of dangerous conſequence, and amongſt the reſt, that ſame, which gave to *Marius* the Conduct of the *Mithridatick* War. Upon this the Conſuls proclaim a publick Ceſſation of Buſineſs, bnt as they were holding a Senate in the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, he let looſe the Rabble upon them, and amongſt many others ſlew *Pompey*, the Conſul's young Son, in the *Forum*, *Pompey* himſelf hardly

eſcaping in the Crowd. But *Sylla* being cloſely purſued into the Houſe of *Marius*, was forc'd to come forth and diſſolve the Ceſſation; for this cauſe *Sulpitius* having depoſed *Pompey*, continued *Sylla* in his Conſulſhip, only the *Mithridatick* Expedition, that he conferred on *Marius*.

There were immediately diſpatcht to *Nola*, Tribunes, to receive the Army, and bring it to *Marius*; but ſeeing that *Sylla* was got before to the Camp, and the Soldiers upon hearing of the News had ſtoned the Tribunes, *Marius* in requital put the Friends of *Sylla* in the City to the Sword, and rifled their Goods. The People were all up in a hurry, ſhifting and running to and fro, ſome from the Camp to the City, others from the City to the Camp. The Senate, then no more its own, but wholly governed by the Dictates of *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, Alarm'd at the report of *Sylla*'s advancing his Troops towards the City, ſent forth two of the Prætors, *Brutus* and *Servilius*, to forbid his nearer approach: The Soldiers would have ſlain theſe Prætors in a Fury, for their rough Language to *Sylla*; however, breaking their Rods aſunder, and tearing off their Purple Robes, after much contumelious Uſage, they ſent them back, to the ſad and ſudden Dejection of thoſe that beheld their Magiſtrates deſpoiled

deſpoiled of Prætorian Enſigns, and withal declaring, that things were now manifeſtly come to a Rupture and paſt cure: *Marius* put himſelf in a readineſs, and *Sylla* with his Collegue moved from *Nola*, at the Head of ſix compleat Legions, all whom he found willing to march up directly againſt the City; but he himſelf as yet was doubtful in thought, and apprehenſive of the Danger. As he was ſacrificing, *Poſthumius* the Soothſayer having inſpected the Entrails, ſtretching forth both hands to *Sylla*, required to be bound and kept in cuſtody till the Battel was over, as willing if they had not ſpeedy Succeſs, to ſuffer the utmoſt Puniſhment. It's ſaid, that there appeared to *Sylla* in a Dream a certain Goddeſs, whom the *Romans* learnt to worſhip from the *Cappadoces*, whether ſhe was the *Moon*, or *Pallas*, or *Bellona:* This ſame Goddeſs, to his thinking, ſtood by him, and put into his Hand Thunder and Lightning, then naming his Enemies one by one, bad him diſcharge on them, who all of them dropt at the diſcharge, and diſappeared. Encouraged by this Viſion, and relating the ſame to his Collegue, next Day he led on towards *Rome:* About *Picinæ* being met by an Embaſſy, beſeeching him not to fall on of a ſudden, in the Heat of a March, (for the Senate had decreed

to do him all the right imaginable) he consented to lodge on the Place, and sent his Officers to measure out the Ground, (as is usual) for a Camp; so as the Embassadors believing it, returned. They were no sooner gone, but he sent a Party before, under the Command of *Lucius Basillus* and *C. Mommius*, to secure the City-Gate and Wall on the side of the *Æsculine-hill*; then at the Heels of these he himself followed with all speed. *Basillus* fell with success into the City, but the unarmed Multitude pelting him with Stones and Tiles from off the Houses, stopt his further Progress, and beat him back to the Wall. *Sylla* by this time was come up, and seeing what was done, called aloud on his Men to set Fire to the Houses, and taking a flaming Torch, he himself led the way, and commanded the Archers to make use of their Fire-darts, letting fly at the Tops of Houses: This he did without the least consideration, all enraged, and yielded the Conduct of that days work to Passion, as if all he saw were Enemies, without respect or pity either to Friends, Relations, or Acquaintance, he went on by Fire, which knows no distinction betwixt Friend or Foe.

In this dispute *Marius* being driven into the Temple of *Mother-Earth*, would from thence have drawn in the Bondmen by Procla-

Proclamation of Freedom, but the Enemy coming on, he was overpowered and fled the City.

*Sylla* having called a Senate, had Sentence of Death paſſed on *Marius*, and ſome few others, amongſt whom was *Sulpitius* Tribune of the People. *Sulpitius* was executed, being betrayed by his Servant, whom *Sylla* firſt made free, and then threw him head-long down the *Tarpeian* Rock. As for *Marius*, he ſet a Price on his Life, by Proclamation; but neither gratefully nor politickly, if we conſider into whoſe Houſe not long before he put himſelf at Mercy, and was ſafely diſmiſſed. Albeit had *Marius* not let go *Sylla*, but ſuffered him to be ſlain by the Hands of *Sulpitius*, he might have been Lord of all; but he ſpared his Life, and a few Days after, upon like occaſion, received not like meaſure.

By theſe Proceedings *Sylla* gave ſecret diſtaſte to the Senate; but the diſpleaſure and free Indignation of the Commonalty ſhewed it ſelf plainly by their Actions. For they ignominiouſly rejected *Nonius* his Nephew, and *Servius*, who put in for Offices of State by his Intereſt, and choſe others for Magiſtrates, by honouring whom, they thought to have grieved him moſt. He made ſemblance of extreme Satisfaction

hereat, as if the People by his means had again enjoyed the Liberty of doing what ſeem'd beſt to them. And to pacifie the publick *Odium*, he created *Lucius Cinna* Conſul, one of the adverſe Party, having firſt bound him under Oaths and Imprecations, to be true to his Intereſt; For *Cinna* aſcending the Capitol with a Stone in his Hand, ſwore ſolemnly and with a direful Curſe, that he himſelf, if he kept not the Accord, might be caſt out of the City, as that Stone out of his Hand; he thereupon caſt the Stone to the Ground, in the preſence of many People.

*Cinna* had no ſooner entred on his charge, but fell to diſturb the Eſtabliſhment, and having prepared an Information againſt *Sylla*, ſuborned *Virginius*, one of the Tribunes of the People, to be his Accuſer; but *Sylla* leaving him and the Court of Judicature to themſelves, ſet forth againſt *Mithridates*.

About the time that *Sylla* was making ready, to put off with his Forces from *Italy*, beſides many other Divine *Omens* which befel *Mithridates* at *Pergamos*, there goes a Story, that the Statue of *Victory*, with a Crown in her Hand, which the *Pergamenians* by Engines from above let down on him, when ſhe had almoſt reach'd his Head, fell aſunder, and the Crown tumbling

tumbling down into the midſt of the Theatre, broke to pieces againſt the Ground, ſo as this ſtartled the Vulgar, and hugely diſquieted the Mind of *Mithridates*, altho' his Affairs hitherto had ſucceeded beyond expectation; for at preſent having wreſted from the *Romans Aſia*, from the * Kings *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, he made *Pergamus* his Royal Seat, beſtowing on his Friends Riches, Principalities, and Kingdoms. Of his Sons, the one (*Arcathias*) reſiding in *Pontus* and *Boſphorus*, held his Ancient Realm as far as the Deſarts, above the Lake *Mœotis*, without moleſtation: *Ariarathes* (the other) was about reducing *Thrace* and *Macedon*, with a great Army, to Obedience. His other Commanders, with Forces under them, invaded other Quarters; eſpecially *Archilaus*, who by his Ships gave in a manner abſolute Law at Sea, had ſubjected the Iſles *Cyclades*, together with others ſituated within *Malea*, and had taken *Æubœa* it ſelf. From *Athens*, his Seat of War, he made his Excurſions as far as *Theſſaly*, and drew after him moſt of the States of *Greece*, without the leaſt Impeachment, ſave only at *Chæronea*. For here *Brutius Sura*, Deputy of *Sentius*, Governor of *Macedon*, a Man excelling in Valour and Prudence, met with *Archelaus*, and though, like a Torrent, he came pour-

* Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes.

ring along *Bæotia*, made ſtout reſiſtance, and giving him thrice Battel, repulſed and forc'd him off again to Sea; however being commanded by *Lucius Lucullus* to give place to his Succeſſor *Sylla*, and reſign the War to whom it was decreed, he preſently left *Bæotia*, and returned back to *Sintius*, altho' his Succeſs had out-gone all hopes, and *Greece* was well diſpoſed to a Revolt, upon account of his gallant Behaviour. Theſe be the glorious Actions of *Brutius*.

*Sylla* at his Arrival received by their Embaſſadors the Complements of all the Cities of *Greece*, except *Athens*, which being forc'd by the Tyrant *Ariſtion* within to hold for the King, he came againſt it with all his might, and inveſting the Haven *Pyreus*, laid formal Siege to it, erecting all manner of Batteries, and trying all manner of Aſſaults; whereas had he forborn never ſo little, he might without hazard have taken the Upper City by Famine, being already reduced to extremity, through want of Neceſſaries; but haſting to *Rome*, and fearing ſome Innovation there, by many Adventures, many Fights, and vaſt Expence, he puſht on the War; for beſides other Equipage, the very Work about the Engines of Battery was ſupplied with no leſs than ten thouſand Yoak of Mules,

Mules, employed daily in that Service; and when Timber grew ſcarce (for many of the Works fail'd, ſome quaſh'd to pieces by their own weight, others taking Fire by the continual play of the Enemy) he made bold with the ſacred Groves, and cut down the ſtately Walks of the Academy, which ſtands in the Suburbs, and the *Lyceum*; and being there wanted a vaſt Sum of Mony to carry on the War, he broke up the unviolable Treaſures of *Greece*, that of *Epidaurus*, and that of *Olympia*, ſending for the faireſt and richeſt Offertories; he wrote likewiſe to the *Amphyctiones* at *Delphos*, That it were better to remit the Wealth of the God to him, for that he would keep it more ſecurely, or in caſe he made uſe of it, reſtore as much. And of his Friends he ſent *Caphis* the *Phocean* on this Meſſage, commanding him to receive each Particular by weight. *Caphis* came to *Delphos*, but was loth to touch holy things, and with many Tears in the preſence of the *Amphyctiones*, bewailed the Neceſſity: But ſome of them making as if they heard the ſound of a Harp from the innermoſt Shrine, he, whether himſelf believed it, or elſe was willing to ſtrike a Religious awe into *Sylla*, ſent back an Expreſs. To which *Sylla* replied in a ſcoffing Way, That it was

was matter of wonder to him, that *Caphis* underſtood not Muſick to be a ſign of Joy, not Anger; and therefore wiſh'd him to go on boldly, and receive it from the Hands of a gracious and bountiful God.

The reſt of the things that were delivered out, eſcaped the Memory of moſt *Grecians*, ſave the Silver Tun, that only Relick of Regal Donation, which for its weight and bulk the Carriages not being able to receive, when the *Amphyctiones* were forced to cut in pieces, they preſently call'd to mind, now *Titus Quinctius Flaminius*, and *Manius Acilius*, now *Paulus Æmilius*. *One of whom, when he had thrown *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, the others when they had brought under † *Macedonian* Kings, not only abſtained from the *Græcian* Temples, but added to them Gifts and Honour, and much Veneration. Thoſe indeed according to law being only elected Chief Leaders of Men well-diſciplined, and taught to yield ready obedience to Command, themſelves Great in Soul and Mean in Expences, lived within the Bounds of the ordinary eſtabliſh'd Charges, accounting it a greater diſgrace to ſtoop baſely to their own Soldiers, than to ſtand in awe of an Enemy; whereas the Commanders of theſe times, attaining to Superiority by force, not worth; and having need of Arms one againſt another, rather than

* Acilius.

† Philip *and* Perſes.

than an Enemy, were conſtrained to temporize in Authority, and hiring the Soldiers labour at the price of Luxury, have rendred their whole Country at unawares Mercenary, and themſelves Slaves to the vileſt of Wretches, to the intent they might Lord it over their Betters. Theſe Practices caſt out *Marius*, and again brought him in againſt *Sylla*. The ſame cauſed *Cinna* to be the Aſſaſſin of *Octavius*, and *Fimbria* of *Flaccus*. To which beginnings *Sylla* contributed not the leaſt: For he to corrupt and call over thoſe who were under the Command of others, would be munificent and profuſe towards thoſe who were under his own, ſo as by drawing ſome of the adverſe Party to a Revolt, and his own Men to a diſſolute Courſe, he came to be in want of a large Treaſury, eſpecially for that Siege.

*Sylla* had a vehement and an implacable deſire to conquer *Athens*, whether out of Emulation, fighting as it were, againſt the Shadow of that once Famous City, or out of Anger, ſtomaching thoſe Flouts and Scurrillous Jeſts, wherewith the Tyrant *Ariſtion*, fooling and skipping about daily, had provoked him and *Metella* from off the Walls.

The Tyrant *Ariſtion* had his very Being compounded of Wantonneſs and Cruelty, receiving into himſelf as a common Sewer

Sewer the worſt of *Mithridates* his ill Humours and vicious Qualities, who like ſome fatal diſeaſe, after its deliverance from innumerable Wars, many Tyrannies and Seditions, brought the City to the laſt extremity. At the time when a † Medimnus of Wheat was to be ſold in the City for one thouſand Drachma's, and Men were forc'd to live on Feverfew, growing round the Cittadel, and eat Shooes and Oyl-bags ſodden, he daily carouſing and feaſting it in the open face of Noon, then dancing in Armour, and ſporting at the Enemy, ſuffer'd the holy Lamp of the Goddeſs to expire for want of Oyl, and to the Chief-Prieſteſs, who demanded of him an * Hemina of Wheat, he ſent the like quantity of Pepper. The Senators and Prieſts, who came in humble guiſe, to beg of him to take compaſſion of the City, and treat a Peace with *Sylla*, he drove at and diſperſed with a flight of Arrows. At laſt with much ado, he ſent forth two or three of his revelling Companions to parly, whom *Sylla*, perceiving that they made no Overtures towards an Accommodation, but went on haranguing in praiſe of *Theſeus Eumolpus*, and their *Medan Trophies*, reply'd to them thus, *Happy men! ye may put up your Speeches and be gone, for I was ſent by the* Romans *to* Athens, *not to learn, but to reduce Rebels to Obedience.*

† *About ſix buſhels.*

* *About a pint.*

In

In the mean time News came to *Sylla*, that ſome old Men diſcourſing in the *Ceramicum*, were over-heard to blame the Tyrant, for not ſecuring the Paſſages and Avenues on the ſide of the Gate *Heptachalcos*, where only the Enemy might eaſily get over. *Sylla* neglected not the Report, but going in the Night, and diſcovering the Place to be aſſaultable, ſet ſtreight to work: *Sylla* himſelf makes mention in his Memoirs, that *Marcus Teius*, the firſt Man who ſcal'd the Wall, meeting with an Adverſary, and ſtriking him on the head-peice a home ſtroke, broke his Sword, however ſhrunk not from his ground, but withſtood and held him faſt. The City was taken on that part, as 'tis recorded by the moſt ancient of the *Athenians*.

When they had thrown down the Wall, and made all level betwixt the *Pyrean*, and Sacred-Gate, about the dead of Night, *Sylla* entred the breach in dreadful manner, with many Trumpets and Cornets, with the rowſing ſhout and cry of an Army, falling to the ſpoil and ſlaughter, and ſcouring thro' the Streets with Swords drawn, ſo as there was no numbring of the ſlain; only from the ſpace of ground overflowed with Blood, we may even now take a ſurvey of their Multitude, for to paſs by the execution

Execution done on other Quarters of the City, the Blood-ſhed about the Market-place, took up the whole *Ceramicum*, within the Double-gate, and according to moſt Writers, paſſing through both Doors, overwhelmed the Suburbs. Nor did the People which fell thus in ſuch vaſt heaps, excel the Number of thoſe, who out of pity and love of their Country, then at point of Deſtruction, ſlew themſelves; the beſt of them deſpairing and dreading to ſurvive; as not expecting either Humanity or Moderation in *Sylla*. At length, partly by the Inſtance of *Midias* and *Calliphon*, two exil'd Men, beſeeching and caſting themſelves at his Feet, partly by the Interceſſion of thoſe Senators who followed the Camp, having had his fill of Revenge, and making ſome honourable mention of the Ancient *Athenians*, *I forgive* (ſaid he) *the Many for the ſake of a Few, the Living for the Dead.* He took *Athens*, according to his own Memoirs, on the Calends of *March*, which fall out exactly on the firſt of *Antheſterion*, on which day the *Athenians* keep a Solemn Commemoration of the many Ruins and Devaſtations, occaſioned by exceſſive Rains, particularly of the *Deluge* which hap'ned about that time.

At the taking of the Town, the Tyrant fled into the Cittadel, and was there beſieged

beſieged by *Curio*, who had that charge under Command. He held out a conſiderable time, but for want of Water yielding up himſelf, clearly evidenced the Divine Providence. For on the ſame Day and Minute that *Curio* conducted him down, the Clouds gathering in a clam Heaven, there ſhowred down a great quantity of Rain, and filled the Cittadel with Water.

Not long after *Sylla* won the Haven *Pyreus*, and burnt moſt of it, amongſt the reſt *Philo*'s Arſenal, a ſtupendious Work.

In the mean time *Taxilles*, *Mithridates* his General, coming down from *Thrace* and *Macedon*, with an Army of one hundred thouſand Foot, ten thouſand Horſe, and ninety Chariots, fang'd at *Axles* with Iron Sythes, would have join'd *Archelaus*, who lay hovering with a Navy on the Coaſt of *Munichia*, with intention, neither to quit the Sea, or engage the *Romans* in Fight, but to draw out the War in length, and cut off the Enemies Proviſion, which *Sylla* perceiving much better than himſelf, paſſed with his Forces into *Bœotia*, from out a Region barren and unable to maintain a Camp in time of Peace. He was thought by ſome to have taken falſe meaſures, when leaving *Attica*, a rugged Country, and uneaſie for the Cavalry to move

move in, he put himſelf into the plain and open Fields of *Bæotia*, knowing the *Barbarians* ſtrength to conſiſt moſt in Horſe and Chariots. But, as was ſaid before, to avoid Famine and Scarcity, he was forc'd to run the riſque of a Battel: Moreover he was troubled for *Hortenſius*, a Man expert in War, and of a rough Soldiery Conſtitution, whom on his way to *Sylla* with Forces from *Theſſaly*, the *Barbarians* awaited in the * Streights: For theſe reaſons *Sylla* drew off into *Bæotia*. *Caphis* * our Country-man led *Hortenſius* another way unknown to the *Barbarians*, by *Parnaſſus* juſt under *Tithora*, being then no ſuch great City as 'tis now, but a Garriſon built around on a ſteep Precipice, which the *Phocenſes*, to eſcape the Invaſion of *Xerxes*, put themſelves and Goods into, and were ſaved. *Hortenſius* encamping here, kept off the Enemy by Day, and at Night deſcending by difficult paſſages into *Patronis*, join'd the Forces of *Sylla*, who came to meet him. Thus united, they poſted themſelves on a fertile Hill, on the Plains of *Elateia*, ſet round with Trees, and watered at the foot: It's called *Philobeotus*, the Situation and Richneſs of which Soil, *Sylla* praiſeth wonderfully.

* Thermopule.

* Plutarch's *Countryman a* Chæronean.

As they lay thus encamped, they ſeemed to the Enemy a contemptible number, for

for they were not above fifteen hundred Horſe, and leſs than fifteen thouſand Foot; wherefore, the reſt of the Commanders over-perſwading *Archelaus*, and drawing up the Army, covered the Field with Horſes, Chariots, Bucklers, Targets: The clamour and hideous roar of ſo many Nations, ſtanding thick together in *Battalia*, tore the Sky; nor was the Pomp and Gallantry of their coſtly array, altogether idle and unſerviceable for Terror: For the brightneſs of their Armour, embelliſhed with Gold and Silver magnificently, and the luſtre of their *Medan* and *Scythian* Coats, intermixt with Braſs and ſhining Steel, caſt forth a flaming and a dreadful ſight, by the waving and moving to and fro of the Army, inſomuch as the *Romans* ſhrunk them into their Trenches; and *Sylla* being unable by any means to remove the fear, and unwilling to force them to fight againſt their wills, was fain to ſit down in quiet, ill-brooking tho' to become the Subject of *Barbarian* Inſolence and Laughter; this however above all advantaged him, for the Enemy from contemning of him, fell into diſorder amongſt themſelves, and being leſs ſubject to Command, by reaſon of many Commanders, ſome few of them remained within the *Line*, but others, the Major part, lur'd

out with hopes of prey and rapine, flew about the Countries many Days Journey from the Camp, and by report demoliſh'd the City of *Panope*, rifled *Lebadea*, and robb'd the Oracle, without any Diſcipline.

*Sylla* all this while chafing and fretting to ſee the Cities all around deſtroy'd, ſuffer'd not the Soldiery to indulge, but going forth, compelled them to divert *Cephiſus* from its ancient Channel, by caſting up Ditches, and giving reſpite to none, ſhew himſelf rigorous in puniſhing the remiſs, that growing weary of Labour, they might be drawn by hardſhip to embrace Danger; which fell out accordingly, for on the third Day being hard at Work, as *Sylla* paſſed by, they beg'd and clamour'd to be led againſt the Enemy. *Sylla* reply'd, That this Demand of War proceeded rather from a backwardneſs to Labour, than any forwardneſs to Fight; but if they were in good earneſt Martially given, he bad them with their Arms get up thither, pointing at the ancient Tower of the *Parapotamians*, whereof at preſent, the City being laid waſte, there remain'd only the Mountainous head, ſteep and craggy on all ſides, and ſevered from Mount *Edulium*, the breadth of the River *Aſſus*, which running betwixt, and at the bottom of the ſame Hill, falling into

into *Cephiſus*, with an impetuous Confluence, made that a ſafe Height to lodge on; wherefore beholding the Braſs Targettiers to make up haſtily, *Sylla* was willing to take prepoſſeſſion, and took it by the vigorous Addreſs of the Soldiers. *Archelaus* put back from hence, bent his Forces upon *Chæroneu*. The *Chæroneans*, who bore Arms in the *Romans* Camp, beſeeching *Sylla* not to abandon the City, he diſpatcht *Geminius* the Tribune with one Legion, and withal ſent out the *Chæroneans*, endeavouring, not being able to get in before *Geminius*; ſo active was he, and more ſwift to relieve, than they who prayed Relief. *Juba* writes, that *Ericius* was the Man ſent, not *Geminius*. Thus narrowly eſcaped * our Native City.

* Plutarch's.

From *Lebadea* and the Cave of *Trophonius* there were ſpread abroad favourable Rumours and Prophecies of Victory to the *Romans*, which the Inhabitants report at large: And as *Sylla* himſelf affirms in the tenth Book of his Memoirs, *Quintus Titus*, an obſcure Man of thoſe who traffick into *Greece*, came to him after the Battel won at *Chæronea*, and declared that *Trophinius* had foretold another Fight and Victory on the ſame place, within a ſhort time. After him a Soldier, by name *Salvenius*, brought an account from the God of the

iſſue of Affairs in *Italy*. As to the Viſion, they both agreed in this, that for Stature, and Majeſtick Grace they had ſeen ſomewhat in the likeneſs of *Jupiter Olympius*.

*Sylla* when he had paſſed over the *Aſſus*, march'd up to *Edylium*, and encamp'd cloſe to *Archelaus*, who had intrench'd himſelf ſtrongly between the Mountains *Acontium* and *Edylium*, towards thoſe called *Aſſia*: The Place of his Intrenchment is to this Day named from him *Archelaus*. *Sylla* after one days reſpite having left *Muræna* behind him, with one Legion and two Cohorts, to amuſe the diſtracted Enemy with continual Alarms, went and ſacrificed on the Banks of *Cephiſus*. The holy Rites ended, he held on towards *Chæronea*, to receive the Forces there; and view Mount *Thurion*, where the Enemy had poſted themſelves. This is a craggy Height, running up gradually to a Point, which we call *Orthopagon*; at the foot of it, is the River *Morius*, and the Temple of *Apollo Thurius*: The God had his Surname from *Thuro*, Mother of *Cheron*, whom ancient Fame makes Founder of *Chæronea*. Others aſſert, that the Cow, which *Apollo* gave to *Cadmus* for a Guide, appeared there, and that the Place took its Name from the Beaſt; for the *Phœnicians* call a Cow, *Thor*.

At *Sylla*'s approach to *Chæronea*, the Tribune,

Tribune, who had been commanded out to guard the City, drew his Men into Arms, and met him with a Garland of Laurel in his Hand; which *Sylla* accepting of, and withal careſſing and animating the Soldiers to the Encounter, two Men of *Chæronea*, *Homoloïchus* and *Anaxidamus*, preſent themſelves before him, and proffer with a ſmall Party to diſlodge thoſe who were poſted on *Thurium*; for that there lay a Path, unknown to the *Barbarians*, from *Petrochus* along by the *Muſæum*, leading over head upon *Thurium*; by this way it was eaſie to fall on, and either ſtone them from above, or force them down into the Plain. *Sylla* aſſured of their Faith and Courage by *Geminius*, when he had exhorted them to go on with the Enterpriſe, Embattelled the Army, and diſpoſing of the Cavalry on both Wings, himſelf commanded the Right, and the left he committed to the direction of *Muræna*; in the Rear of all, *Gallus* and *Hortenſius*, his Legates, had planted themſelves on the upper Grounds, with the Cohorts of Reſerve, to watch the Motion of the Enemy, who with infinite numbers of Horſe, and expedite light-arm'd Foot, having made the Wing pliant, and ready to wind about at pleaſure, gave Suſpicion that he intended to over-reach and encloſe the *Romans*. In the

mean time the *Chæroneans*, who had *Ericus* for Commander by appointment of *Sylla*, covertly ſurrounding *Thurium*, and diſcovering themſelves, there aroſe a great Confuſion and Rout, and mutual Slaughter amongſt the *Barbarians*; for they kept not their ſtand, but making down in that hurry, caſt themſelves on their own Spears, and violently bore each other headlong, the Enemy from above preſſing on, and wounding them on the open ſide, inſomuch as there fell three thouſand about *Thurium*. Some of them who eſcaped being met by *Muræna* as he ſtood in Array, were cut off and deſtroy'd. Others breaking thro' to their Friends, and falling diſorderly into the Ranks, filled moſt part of the Army with Fear and Tumult, and put the Chief Officers to a ſtand, which was no ſmall diſadvantage. For immediately upon the Diſcompoſure, *Sylla* coming full ſpeed to the Charge, diſappointed the Service of their Arm'd Chariots, which require a good ſpace of Ground to gather ſtrength and impetuoſity in the Career, whereas a ſhort drift proves weak and ineffectual, like that of Engines without a full ſwing. Thus it far'd with the *Barbarians* at preſent, whoſe firſt Chariots that ſet forth ſpurtingly, and made but a faint impreſſion when the *Romans* had repulſed, with a clattering

clattering din and ſlaughter they called for more, as is uſual in the publick Cirque. By this time the Groſs of both Armies met. The *Barbarians*, on one ſide, charg'd their long Pikes, and with Shields lock'd cloſe together like a Roof over head, ſtrove what in them lay to preſerve their *Battalion* entire: The *Romans*, on the other ſide, threw by their Piles, and with drawn Swords put by their Puſhes, the ſooner to mingle with them, in the rage they were then in: For in the Front of the Enemy they beheld fifteen thouſand Slaves, whom the * Royal Commanders had ſet free by Proclamation, and rang'd amongſt the *Men of Arms*. Whereupon a *Roman* Centurion is reported to ſay, That he never knew Servants allow'd to play the Maſters, unleſs on the Holy-days of *Saturn*. Theſe Men, by reaſon of their deep and thick Array, as well as for their daring Courage, yielded but ſlowly to the weighty Legions, till at laſt by ſlinging Engines and Darts, for which the *Romans* ſpar'd not from behind, they were forc'd to give way and ſcatter. And as *Archelaus* was extending the Right Wing to encompaſs the Enemy, *Hortenſius* with his *Cohorts* came down amain, with intention to charge him in the Flank; but *Archelaus* wheeling about ſuddenly, with two thouſand horſe, *Hortenſius*,

*The Commanders of King Mithridates.

overlaid with numbers, withdrew himſelf to the upper Grounds, not far from the main Body, and was ſurrounded by the Enemy: When *Sylla* heard this, he came ſpeeding from the right to his ſuccour, before the Engagement; but *Archelaus* gueſſing the matter by the duſt of his Troops, turned to the right Wing, from whence *Sylla* came, in hopes to have ſurpriſed it without a Commander: At the ſame inſtant likewiſe *Taxilles* with his Braſs-Targetiers aſſailed *Muræna*, ſo as a Cry coming from both places, and the Hills repeating it around, *Sylla* ſtood in ſuſpence which way to move; it ſeeming beſt to reaſſume his own Station, he ſent in aid to *Muræna* four Cohorts, and commanding the fifth to follow him, returned on the ſpur to the right Wing, which then of it ſelf held *Archelaus* to equal play; at his appearance they gave one luſty puſh for all, and overcoming, followed them diſorderly flying to the River and Mount *Acontium*. Neither was *Sylla* unmindful of the danger *Muræna* was in; for haſting thither, and finding them Victorious, he help'd to purſue. Many *Barbarians* were ſlain on the ſpot, many more cut in pieces, as they were making to the Camp: Of ſuch infinite Multitudes, ten thouſand only got ſafe into *Chalcis*. *Sylla* writes, that there

there were but fourteen of his Soldiers wanting, and that two even of thoſe returned towards evening; wherefore he inſcribed on *Trophies*, *Mars*, *Victory*, and *Venus*, as having won the Day no leſs by Good-fortune, than by true management and force of Arms. That *Trophie* of the Field-Battel ſtands on the Place where *Archelaus* firſt gave back, as far as the Streams of *Molus*: The other is erected high, on the top of *Thurium*, where the *Barbarians* were environ'd, ſignifying in *Greek* Letters, That *Homoloichus* and *Anaxidamus* were the Chief Leaders. The Hymns of Victory for this Action were celebrated at *Thebes*, where *Sylla* built a Stage for Muſick, near *Oedipus*'s Well. As for the Judges of the Performance, they were *Grecians* choſen out of other Cities, becauſe he bore an implacable hatred to the *Thebans*, and having cut off from them half their Territories, he conſecrated the ſame to *Apollo* and *Jupiter*, commanding them, out of the Revenue, to make Satisfaction to the Gods, for the Riches himſelf had taken from them.

After this, hearing that *Flaccus*, a Man of the contrary Faction, being choſen Conſul, had croſſed the *Ionian* Sea with an Army, to act in ſhew againſt *Mithridates*, but in reality againſt himſelf, he took the way

way of *Theſſalia*, deſigning to meet him; but in his March, about *Meleteia*, received Advices from all Parts, That the Countries on his back were over-ſpread and harraſed by no leſs a Camp-Royal than was the former: For *Dorilaus* arriving at *Chalcis*, with a mighty Fleet (on board of which he brought over with him Eighty thouſand of the beſt-appointed and beſt diſciplin'd Soldiers of *Mithridates* his Army) had made a ſudden Incurſion into *Bæotia*, and ſecured that Coaſt, in hopes to bring *Sylla* to a Battel, making no account of the diſſwaſions of *Archelaus*, but giving it out, as to the laſt Fight, that without Treachery ſo many thouſand Men could never have periſhed. However, *Sylla* facing about expeditiouſly, made it appear to *Dorilaus*, that *Archelaus* was a wiſe Man, and had good skill in the *Roman* Valour; in ſo much as *Dorilaus* himſelf, after ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes with *Sylla* at *Tilphoſſion*, was the firſt of thoſe who thought it not adviſable to put things to the Deciſion of the Sword, but rather by Expence of Time and Treaſure to wear out the War; nevertheleſs the Field of *Orchomenos*, where they then lay encamped, gave no ſmall encouragement to *Archelaus*, as being moſt advantagious to thoſe who excel in Cavalry to engage in. For of the

the *Bœotian* Campaigns, that is the faireſt and largeſt, which confining on the Principal Seat of the *Orchomenians*, alone opens a clear Proſpect, void of Cover as far as the Fens, where the River *Melas* is ſwallow'd up. Of all the *Grecian* Rivers, this only, which ariſeth from under the City *Orchomenus*, draws with it a deep and navigable Water from the very Head, encreaſing about the Summer Solſtice like *Nile*, and bringing forth all things growing there; yet ſmall, and without Fruit. It runs not far, before the main Stream loſeth it ſelf among the blind and woody Marſh-grounds, a ſmall Branch whereof mingleth with *Cephiſus*, about that place eſpecially where the Lake is thought to produce the beſt Flute-reeds.

Now that both Armies were poſted near each other, *Archelaus* lay ſtill, but *Sylla* fell to caſting up Ditches athwart from either ſide, that, if poſſible, by cutting the Enemies from the firm and open Champagne, he might force them into the Fens. They on the other hand, not enduring this, but at the Word of Command, iſſuing out furiouſly in full Bodies, not only the Men at Work were diſpers'd, but moſt part of thoſe who ſtood in Arms to juſtifie the Work, caſt themſelves diſorderly into flight. Upon this *Sylla* leaps from his Horſe, and ſnatching

ſnatching hold of an Enſign, ruſht through the midſt of the Rout upon the Enemy, crying out aloud, *To me, O* Romans, *it ſeems glorious to fall here: And as for you, when demanded where was it you betrayed your General, remember you ſay, at* Orchomenus. His Men Rallying again at theſe words, and two Cohorts coming to his Succour from the Right-wing, he gave a fierce Onſet and turn'd the Day. Then retiring ſome few Paces back, and refreſhing his Men, he came on again to block up the Enemies Camp, but they again ſallied out in better Order than before. Here *Diogenes*, Son-in-Law to *Archelaus*, having fought on the Right-wing with much Gallantry, made an honourable end. And the Archers, being preſſed on hard by the *Romans*, and wanting ſpace for a Retreat, took their Arrows by handfuls, and ſtriking with thoſe as with Swords, beat them back. In the end they were all ſhut up into the Entrenchment, and had a ſorrowful Night of it, by reaſon of their ſlain and wounded. The next day again *Sylla* leading forth his Men up to their Quarters, went on finiſhing the Line, and as they were drawing out to give him Battel, fell on, and putting a large Party of them to the Rout, in the fright they were in, none daring to abide, he took the Camp by force, whence the

Mariſhes

Mariſhes were filled with Blood, and the Lake with dead Bodies, inſomuch as to this Day there be found, of the *Barbarian* make, many Bows, Helmets, pieces of Breaſt-plates, and Swords, buried deep in Mud, ſome two hundred Years ſince the Fight. Thus much of the Action, of *Chæronea* and *Orchomenus*.

*Cinna* and *Narbo* at *Rome*, uſing Injuſtice and Violence towards Perſons of the greateſt Eminency, many of them, to avoid that Tyranny, repaired to *Sylla*'s Camp, as to a ſafe Harbour, where in a ſhort ſpace he had about him the Majeſtick Face of a Senate. *Metella* likewiſe having with difficulty conveyed her ſelf and Children away by ſtealth, brought him word that his City and Country-Houſes were ſet on Fire by the Adverſary, and prayed his help at home. Whilſt he was in doubt what to do, being impatient to hear his Country abuſed, and not knowing how to leave ſo great a work, as the *Mithridatick* War unfiniſhed, comes unto him *Archelaus*, a Merchant of *Delos*, with ſome hopes of an Accommodation, and private Inſtructions from *Archelaus*, the King's General. *Sylla* lik'd the Buſineſs ſo well as to deſire a ſpeedy Conference with *Archelaus* in Perſon, and had a Meeting at Sea on that ſide of *Delos*, where

where the Temple of *Apollo* ſtands. When *Archelaus* began to propoſe and demand of *Sylla*, that quitting his Pretenſions to *Aſia* and *Pontus*, he ſhould ſet ſail for the War in *Rome*, receiving Mony and Shipping, and ſuch Forces as he ſhould think fitting, from the King: *Sylla* interpoſing, bad him take no further care for *Mithridates*, but aſſume the Crown to himſelf, and become a Confederate of *Rome*, delivering up the Navy. Here *Archelaus* profeſſing his abhorrence of Treaſon, *Sylla* proceeded: *Thou, O* Archelaus, Cappadocian *as thou art, and Slave* (*or, if it ſo pleaſe thee, Friend*) *to a* Barbarian *King, doſt thou upon ſuch vaſt Conſiderations ſcruple any thing of Baſeneſs? and to me* Roman *General and* Sylla *dar'ſt talk of Treaſon? as if thou wert not the ſelf-ſame* Archelaus *who ran away at* Chæronea, *with a few in Company, the Reliques of One hundred and twenty thouſand Men; who lay ſquat for two days in the Fens of* Orchomenus, *and left* Bæotia *unpaſſable for heaps of dead Carcaſes. Archelaus*, chang'd at this, in humble manner fell at his Feet, beſeeching him to lay aſide the thoughts of War, and make Peace with *Mithridates*. *Sylla* conſenting to this Requeſt, Articles of Agreement were concluded on; That *Mithridates* ſhould quit *Aſia* and *Paphlagonia*, reſtore

reſtore *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and pay the *Romans* two thouſand Talents, and give him ſeventy Ships of War, with all their Furniture: On the other hand, That *Sylla* ſhould confirm to him his other Dominions, and declare him a *Roman*-Confederate. On theſe terms he returned by the way of *Theſſaly* and *Macedon* for the *Helleſpont*, having *Archelaus* with him in great Eſteem. For *Archelaus* being taken deſperately ill at *Lariſſa*, he ſtaid the March of the Army, and took care of him, as one of his own Captains, or Joint-Commander in Chief. This gave ſuſpicion of foul play in the Buſineſs of *Chæronea*, as well as becauſe *Sylla* had diſcharg'd all the Friends of *Mithridates*, taken Priſoners in War, ſave only *Ariſtion* the Tyrant, whom diſaffected to *Archelaus*, he made away by Poiſon; but more eſpecially the ten thouſand Acres of *Bœotian* Land, given to a *Cappadocian*, and him ſtyled by *Sylla*, Friend and Allie of the *Romaas*. For all which, *Sylla* apologizeth in his Memoirs.

The Embaſſadors of *Mithridates* arriving, and withal declaring, That they accepted of the Conditions, only *Paphlagonia* they could not part with, and as for the Ships, they knew of no ſuch Capitulation; *Sylla* in a rage anſwered, *What*

*ſay*

*ſay you? does* Mithridates *then with-hold* Paphlagonia? *and as to the Ships, denies he that Article? Whom I thought to have ſeen proſtrate at my* Foot, *had I left him only that right hand of his, which cut off ſo many* Romans. *Sure he will ſhortly, at our coming over into* Aſia, *ſpeak another Language; in the meam time, let him at his eaſe in* Pergamus, *ſit managing a War which he never ſaw.* The Ambaſſadors out of fear ſtood ſilent by, but *Archelaus* with humble Supplication aſſwag'd his Wrath, laying gentle hold on his right hand and weeping; in the Concluſion he obtained to be ſent Ambaſſador to *Mithridates*. For that he would either Mediate a Peace, to the Satisfaction of *Sylla*, or, if not, ſlay himſelf. *Sylla* having thus diſpatched him away, made an Inroad into *Media*, and after wide Depopulation returned back again into *Macedon*, where he received *Archelaus* about *Philippi*, bringing word that all things were well, and moreover that *Mithridates* earneſtly requeſted an Interview. The chief Cauſe of this meeting was *Fimbria*; for he having aſſaſſinated *Flaccus* the Conſul, one holding of the contrary Faction, and worſted the *Mithridatick* Commanders, was advancing againſt *Mithridates* himſelf, who fearing this, choſe rather to enter into Alliance with *Sylla*.

There

There met at *Dardanus* of *Troas*, on one ſide *Mithridates*, attended with two hundred Ships compleatly equipped, and of Land forces twenty thouſand Men of Arms, two thouſand Horſe, and a long train of Sythed-Chariots: On the other, *Sylla* with only four Cohorts, and two hundred Horſe. As *Mithridates* drew near and put out his Hand, *Sylla* demanded, Whether he was willing or no to end the War on what *Archelaus* had agreed to? But ſeeing the King made no anſwer, *Why then* (ſaid he) *it behoveth the diſtreſſed to ſpeak firſt, and as for the Conquerors it is ſufficient to give audience.* And when *Mithridates*, entering upon his Plea, began ſlily to ſhift off the War, partly on the Gods, and partly to blame the *Romans* themſelves, he took him up, ſaying, That he had heard indeed long ſince from others, and now knew it himſelf for truth, that *Mithridates* was a powerful Speaker, who to ſet off ſuch foul and unjuſt Practices, wanted not for handſome Pretences. Then charging him with, and inveighing bitterly againſt outrages by him committed, he ask'd again, Whether he was willing or no to ratifie the Treaty of *Archelaus*? *Mithridates* anſwering in the affirmative, *Sylla* ran in to and embracing kiſſed him. Not long after he introduced *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*, the two

Kings, and made them all Friends. Wherefore *Mithridates*, when he had furniſh'd *Sylla* with ſeventy Ships, and five hundred Archers, ſet Sail for *Pontus*.

*Sylla* perceiving the Soldiers to be diſſatisfied with the Peace, (for the moſt pernicious of Kings, and one who had cauſed one hundred and fifty thouſand *Romans* to be maſſacred in one day throughout *Aſia*; they thought it a heinous thing to behold him ſailing out with the Riches and Spoils of *Aſia*, which he had pillaged, and put under Contribution for the ſpace of four Years;) alledged, that he was not able to have made head againſt *Fimbria* and *Mithridates*, had they both withſtood him in Conjunction. Thence he aroſe and went in ſearch of *Fimbria*, who lay with the Army about *Thiatira*, and pitching hard by, began to fortifie himſelf with a Trench. The Soldiers of *Fimbria* came out in their ſingle Coats, and ſaluting his Men, lent ready aſſiſtance to the Work; which Change *Fimbria* beholding, and withal apprehending *Sylla* as irreconcileable, laid violent hands on himſelf in the Camp.

*Sylla* impos'd on *Aſia* in general a Tax of twenty thouſand Talents, and particularly waſted each Family by the licentious behaviour, and long reſidence of the Soldiery in private Quarters. For he ordain'd, that

that every Hoſt ſhould allow himſelf four Tetradrachma's each day, and moreover entertain him, and as many Friends as he ſhould invite, with a Supper; that a Centurion ſhould receive fifty Drachma's a Day, together with one Sute of Clothes to wear within Doors, and another when he went abroad.

Having put off from *Epheſus* with the whole Navy, he came the third day to Anchor in the *Pirean* Haven. Here he was initiated in the Myſteries of the Goddeſs *Ceres*, and ſeizing to his uſe the Library of *Apellicon* a *Teian*, in which were moſt of *Theophraſtus* and *Ariſtotle*'s Works, then unknown to moſt, he tranſported the ſame to *Rome*. It's ſaid, That *Turannion* the *Grammarian* made his Collection chiefly from hence, and that *Andronicus* the *Rhodian* having through his means the command of divers Copies, put out thoſe Heads of Treatiſes which be common now in every Man's Hands, under the Title of *Tables*. The ancient *Peripateticks* were of themſelves indeed Men of Polite and Univerſal Learning; but of all the Writings of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*, they had no exact knowledge; becauſe *Theophraſtus* bequeathing his Study to the Heir of *Neleus Sceptius*, theſe happ'ned to fall into rude and illiterate Hands.

During *Sylla*'s ſtay about *Athens*, there fell into his Feet a lumpiſh benumming Pain, which *Strabo* calls, *the firſt fettering on of the Gout*. Wherefore taking a Voyage to *Adipſus*, he made uſe of the Hot Waters there, eaſing his Thoughts of Care likewiſe, and merrily paſſing away the time with Drolls. As he was walking along the Sea-ſhore, certain Fiſhermen brought him a lovely Preſent of Fiſh. Being taken therewith, and underſtanding that they were Men of *Alæa*, *What*, ſaid he, *be there any of* Alææ *ſurviving?* (For having won the Field at *Archomenus*, in the heat of a Purſuit he had deſtroy'd three Cities of *Bæotia*, *Anthedon*, *Larymna*, and *Alæa*.) The Men knowing not what to ſay for fear, *Sylla* with a ſmiling Countenance bad them cheer up and return in peace, as who had brought with them no ſmall or contemptible Interceſſors. The *Alæi* from hence took Courage, and embodying, re-entred the City.

*Sylla* having march'd through *Theſſaly*, and *Macedon*, down to the Sea-coaſt, prepared with twelve hundred Veſſels to croſs over from *Dyrrachium* to *Brundiſium*. Not far from hence is *Appollonia*, and near it a ſpot of Ground dedicated to the *Nymphes*, which from among flowry Dales and Meads diſcovers here and there Springs

of

of Fire continually ſtreaming out. Here, they ſay, was a Satyr, ſuch as Statuaries and Painters repreſent, found ſleeping, and brought before *Sylla*, where he was ask'd by ſeveral Interpreters who he was, when with much ado he ſent forth a harſh unintelligible Noiſe, like the Neighing of a Horſe, and crying of a Goat, in mix'd Conſort: *Sylla* diſmay'd at it, turn'd aſide in deteſtation.

At the point of Tranſportation, becauſe *Sylla* was concern'd leſt at their firſt ſetting foot upon *Italy*, the Army ſhould diſſolve of it ſelf one by one among the Cities, they of their own accord firſt took an Oath to ſtand firm by him, and with Good-will not to injure *Italy*; then ſeeing him ſtraitned for a round Sum of Mony, they readily offered their Aſſiſtance, and contributed each Man according to his Ability. However *Sylla* would not accept of the Benevolence, but praiſing their Good-will, and withal rowzing up their Courage, he put over (as himſelf writes) againſt fifteen Commanders, with four hundred and fifty Cohorts under them.

The happy Succeſs of Affairs was plainly foretold him by the Divine Power; for as he was ſacrificing at his firſt landing about *Tarentum*, the Liver ſeem'd to have on it the figure of a Crown of Laurel, with

two Labels pendant. And a little while before his arrival, in *Campania*, about the Mountain *Hephæus*, two ſtately Goats were ſeen, in a Rencounter by Day, performing like Men in a Battel. This Apparition riſing up gradually from the Ground, diſperſed ſeverally through the Heavens, like to fancied Repreſentations in the Clouds, and ſo vaniſh'd out of ſight. Not long after, in the ſelf-ſame place, when *Martius* the younger, and *Norbanus* the Conſul attack'd him with two great Armies, without preſcribing the Order of Battel, or ranging his Men according to their Diviſions, by the ſway only of one common Alacrity and Tranſport of Courage, he overturn'd the Enemy, and ſhut up *Norbanus* into the City of *Capua*, with the loſs of ſeven thouſand of his Men. This was the Reaſon, ſays he, that the Soldiers disbanded not throughout the Towns, but ſtuck cloſe together, and deſpiſed the Enemy, though infinitely more in number.

At *Silvium* (as he himſelf relates it) there met him a Servant of *Pontius*, an *Enthuſiaſt*, ſaying, That he brought him the power of the Sword and Victory from *Bellona*, the Goddeſs of War; and if he haſted not, that the Capitol would be burnt; which fell out on the ſame Day the Man foretold

foretold it, namely on the ſixth Day of the Month *Quintilis*, which we now call *July*.

Moreover, at *Fidentia*, *Marcus Lucullus*, one of *Sylla*'s Commanders, repoſed ſuch confidence in the ſprightly forwardneſs of the Soldiers, as to dare to face fifty Cohorts of the Enemy, with only ſixteen of his own; but becauſe many of them were unarm'd, delay'd the Onſet. As he ſtood thus in gaze, conſidering with himſelf, a gentle gale of Wind bearing along with it from the neighbouring Meadows an innumerable company of Flowers, threw them in ſcatteringly among the Army; which falling about caſually, and reſting upon the Shields and Helmets, ſhew'd them to the Enemy as crown'd with Chaplets. Upon this being further animated, they join'd Battel, and victoriouſly ſlaying eight thouſand Men, took the Camp. This *Lucullus* was Brother to that *Lucullus* who in after-times conquered *Mithridates* and *Tygranes*.

*Sylla* ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded with ſo many Armies, and ſuch mighty Powers, had recourſe to Art, inviting *Scipio* the other Conſul to a Treaty of Peace. The Motion was willingly embrac'd, and thereupon follow'd ſeveral Meetings and Conſultations, in all which *Sylla* interpoſing

ſtill matter of Delay and new Pretences, in the mean while debauch'd *Scipio*'s Men by Under-inſtruments of his own, who in ſubtil train and all the Methods of Inveigling, were as well practiſed as the General himſelf. For entring into the Enemies Quarters, and intermixing, they wrought off ſome by preſent Mony, ſome by Promiſes, others by fair Words and Perſwaſions; ſo as in the end, when *Sylla* with twenty Cohorts drew near, they came forth to ſalute him, leaving *Scipio* behind them in his Tent, where he was found all alone and diſmiſſed. Thus *Sylla* having uſed twenty Cohorts as Stales, to draw in forty more Cohorts of the Enemy, led them all back into the Camp. On this occaſion *Carbo* was heard to ſay, *That having a Fox and a Lion in the Breaſt of* Sylla *to deal with, he was plagued moſt with the Fox.*

Some time after, at *Signium*, *Marius* the younger, with eighty five Cohorts, offer'd Battel to *Sylla*, who was extremely deſirous to have it decided on that very Day; for the Night before he had ſeen a Viſion, which to his Thoughts repreſented *Marius* the Elder, who had been long ſince dead, adviſing his Son *Marius* to beware of the following Day, as of fatal Conſequence to him. For this reaſon *Sylla*, longing to come

come to a Battel, ſent to the Camp afar off for *Dolabella*. But becauſe the Enemy had beſet and lock'd up the Paſſes, his Soldiers were exceedingly tired by Skirmiſhing and Marching at once. To theſe difficulties was added moreover tempeſtuous rainy Weather, which diſtreſſed them moſt of all; wherefore the Principal Leaders came to *Sylla*, and beſought him to defer the Day, ſhewing him withal how the Soldiers lay all along on the Ground, caſt down with Toil, and leaning upon the Target. When with much difficulty he had yielded, and given order for the ſetling of the Camp, they had no ſooner begun to caſt up a Rampart, and draw a Ditch a croſs, but *Marius* came riding up furiouſly at the Head of his Troops, in hopes to have ſcattered them in that diſorder and confuſion. Here the Gods fulfilled *Sylla*'s Dream: For the Soldiers ſtirred up with anger, left off to work, and ſticking their Piles on the Bank, with drawn Swords and a couragious Shout, came to handy-blows with the Enemy, who made but ſmall Reſiſtance, and were miſerably ſlain in the Flight. *Marius* fled to *Præneſte*, but finding the Gates ſhut, tied himſelf round by a Rope, that was thrown down to him, and was taken up on the Walls. Some there are (as *Feneſtella* for one) who affirm

affirm that *Marius* knew nothing of the Fight, but over-watch'd and ſpent with hard Duty, had repoſed himſelf, when the Signal was given, beneath ſome Shade, and was hardly to be awakned at the Flight of his Men. *Sylla* (according to his own account) loſt only three Men in this Bruſh, having killed of the Enemy twenty thouſand, and taken alive eight thouſand.

The like Succeſs had others of his Commanders, as *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, *Metellus*, *Servilius*, who with little or no loſs cut off vaſt numbers of the Enemy, inſomuch as *Carbo*, the prime Supporter of the Cauſe, fled by Night from his Charge of the Army, and ſailed over into *Lybia*.

In the laſt Encounter, the *Samnite Teleſinus*, like to ſome Champion whoſe Lot it is to enter laſt of all into the Liſt, and take up the wearied Conqueror, came nigh to have foiled and overthrown *Sylla* before the Gates of *Rome*. For *Teleſinus* with his Second *Lamponius* the *Lucan*, having drawn together huge Levies of Men, made all haſte towards *Præneste*, to free *Marius* from the Siege; but perceiving *Sylla* at the Head of him, and *Pompey* in the Tail, both making violently at him, ſtreightned thus before and behind, he, as a valiant and expert Soldier, aroſe by Night, and marching directly with his whole

whole Army, had like to have fallen unexpectedly into *Rome* it ſelf. He lay that Night before the City, ſome ten Furlongs off from the Gate *Collatina*, all jocund and ſwoln with further Hopes, as having already baffled ſo many eminent Commanders by Stratagem: At break of Day being charged by the Noble Youth of the City, among many others, he overthrew *Appius Claudius*, a Perſon renowned for Nobleneſs of Blood and Valour. The City, as it is eaſie to imagine, was all in an Uproar, the Women ſhrieking and running about, as if it had been entred forcibly by Aſſault, till at laſt *Balbus* advanced, with ſeven hundred Horſe, on full ſpeed, and after ſome ſmall halt made for rubbing and bridling again, fell into Skirmiſh with the Enemy. In the mean time *Sylla* appeared, and commanding the foremoſt to take refreſhment, drew into order. *Dolabella* and *Torquatus* were extreme earneſt with him to deſiſt a while, and not with ſpent Forces to hazard the whole ſum of Affairs, having before them in the Field not *Carbo* or *Marius*, but two warlike Nations, bearing immortal hatred to *Rome*, the *Samnites* and *Lucans* to grapple with; but he put them by, and commanded the Trumpets to ſound a Charge, about four a Clock in the Afternoon. In this Conflict, which

was

was the ſharpeſt as ever was, the Right Wing, where *Craſſus* ſtood embattelled, had clearly the Advantage; the Left was overcharged, and in a declining Condition, when *Sylla* came to its ſuccour, mounted on a white Courſer, full of Mettle, and exceeding ſwift of Foot, which two of the Enemy knowing him by, had their Lances in a readineſs to caſt; but his Gentleman giving the Horſe a touch, he was, unknown to himſelf, ſo far advanced, as that the Points falling beſide the Horſe-tail, ſtuck in the Ground. There goes a Story, That having a golden Image of *Apollo* from *Delphos*, he was always wont in the Day of Battel to carry it about him in his Boſom, and that then he kiſſed it, with theſe words: *O* Apollo Pythius, *the Fortunate* Cornelius Sylla, *whom in ſo many Battels thou haſt raiſed to Honour and Greatneſs, wilt thou now caſt down, bringing him before the Gate of his Country, to periſh ſhamefully with his Fellow-Citizens?* After he had thus addreſſed himſelf to the God, ſome of his Men he intreated, ſome he threatned, and others he laid hold on, till at length the Left Wing being wholly ſhattered, he was forc'd in Company of the Rout to betake himſelf to the Camp, having loſt many of his Friends and Acquaintance; many likewiſe of the City-ſpectators were trod

trod to Death. So as Common Fame gave the City for taken, and had like to have raiſed the Siege of *Præneſte*; many who eſcaped by Flight poſting thither, and adviſing *Lucretius Offella* (who was appointed to keep on the Siege) to riſe in all haſte, for that *Sylla* was defeated, and *Rome* fallen into the Hands of the Enemy.

About Midnight there came into *Sylla*'s Camp Meſſengers from *Craſſus*, to fetch Proviſion for him and his Soldiers; for having vanquiſh'd the Enemy, they purſu'd him to the Walls of *Antemna*, and had ſat down there. *Sylla* hearing this, and that moſt of the Enemy were deſtroyed, came to *Antemna* by break of Day, where three thouſand of the Beſieged having ſent forth a Herald, he promiſed to receive them to Mercy, on condition they did the Enemy miſchief in their coming over. Truſting to his Word, they fell foul on the reſt of their Companions, and made a great Slaughter one of another; but however *Sylla* gathered together in the Cirque, as well thoſe as others of the remaining Party, to the number of ſeven thouſand, and as he was ſpeaking to the Senate in the Temple of *Bellona*, cauſed them all to be ſlain, by Men appointed for that Service. The cry, as muſt needs be, of ſo vaſt a Multitude, put

put to the Sword, in ſo narrow a ſpace, flying abroad and ſtartling the Senators; he, as he was ſpeaking, with a ſecure unconcern'd Countenance, bad them liſten to what he had to ſay, and not buſie themſelves with what was a doing without Doors; for himſelf had ordered the Chaſtiſement of a few naughty People. This gave the moſt ſtupid of the *Romans* to underſtand, that they had made an exchange only of Tyrannical Government, not a change. *Marius*, being in himſelf auſtere, alter'd not, but confirm'd Nature by Authority; whereas *Sylla* behaving himſelf moderately and prudently at firſt, and giving good hopes of a true Patriot, firm to the Intereſts both of the Nobility and Commonalty, being moreover of a gay pleaſant Humour from his Youth, and of ſuch a melting compaſſionate Diſpoſition, as to weep eaſily, has perhaps deſervedly caſt a Blemiſh upon the higher Offices of State, as if theſe put us beſide our former courſe of Life, and were occaſion of Folly, Pride, Inhumanity. This whether it be a real Change, and new frame of Mind, ariſing from Fortune, or rather a malicious fly Nature, diſcovering it ſelf in Authority, to decide were Mattter of another ſort of Diſquiſition.

Now that *Sylla* was wholly bent upon Slaughter,

Slaughter, and filled the Town inceſſantly with infinite Executions, (many diſintereſted Perſons falling a Sacrifice to private Enmity, through his permiſſion and indulgence to a Party) *Caius Metellus*, one of the Noble Youths, made bold in the Senate to ask him, what end there was of thoſe Evils, and where he intended to ſtop: *We pray thee not* (ſaid he) *to pardon ſuch as thou haſt reſolved to deſtroy, but to free from doubt ſuch as it hath pleaſed thee to ſave.* *Sylla* anſwering, That he knew not as yet whom to ſpare: *Why then* (ſaid he) *tell us whom thou wilt puniſh.* This *Sylla* ſaid he would do. Thoſe laſt Words, as ſome Authors would have it, were ſpoken not by *Metellus*, but by *Offidius*, one of *Sylla*'s fawning Companions. Immediately upon this, without imparting the Matter to the Magiſtracy, *Sylla* proſcrib'd eighty Perſons; and notwithſtanding the generality of Men ſtomach'd it, after one Days reſpite he poſted two hundred and twenty more, and on the third again as many. In an Harangue to the People on this occaſion, he told them, he had put up as many Names as he could think of; and thoſe who had eſcaped his Memory, he ſhould hereafter proclaim. He publiſh'd an Edict likewiſe, making Death the Puniſhment of Humanity,

to

to any one who ſhould dare to receive and cheriſh an Outlaw, without exception to Brother, Son, or Parents. And to him who ſhould ſlay any one proſcribed Perſon, he ordained two Talents, as a Reward of Parricide, whether it were a Slave, who had beat out the Brains of his Maſter, or a Son his Father's. But what was moſt unjuſt of all, he cauſed the Attainder to paſs upon their Sons, and Sons Sons, and made open ſale of the Goods of them all; nor reign'd the Proſcription only at *Rome*, but throughout all the Cities of *Italy*, where the Effuſion of Blood was ſuch, as neither the Temples of the Gods, nor Sanctuaries, nor private Houſes, eſcaped clear; Men were butchered in the Embraces of their Wives, Children in the Arms of their Mothers. They who fell thus through publick hatred, or private Spleen, were nothing in compariſon of the numbers of thoſe who ſuffer'd for their Riches. The Aſſaſſin might ſafely ſay, *A fair Houſe killed this Man, a Garden that, a third his Hot Baths.* *Quintus Aurelius*, a quiet peaceable Man, and one who thought it his Duty to bear a part in the common Calamity, ſo far as to condole the Misfortunes of others, coming into the *Forum*, and finding himſelf among thoſe who were ſet up, cried out, *Woe's me, my* Alban *Mannor has informed againſt me.*

He

He had not gone far, before he was diſpatched by a Ruffian ſent on that Errand.

In the mean time *Marius*, on the point of being taken, kill'd himſelf. *Sylla*, at his firſt coming to *Præneſte*, proceeded judicially againſt each particular Perſon, till at laſt, finding it a Work of too much time, he cooped them up cloſe together in one place, to the number of two and twenty thouſand Men, and gave order for the Execution of them all, his Hoaſt only excepted; but he, brave Man, ſcorning the Obligation of Life it ſelf, from the Hands of one who had been the Ruin of his Country, plung'd into the Herd, and ſubmitted willingly to the Stroke. That of *Lucius Catilina* was a rare Contrivance: For before Matters came to an iſſue, having made away his Brother, he beſeeched *Sylla* to clap him into the Liſt of Outlawry, as living, and was ſo; wherefore *Catiline*, to return the kind Office, aſſaſſinated *Marius*, one of the adverſe Party, and brought the Head to *Sylla*, as he was ſitting in the Court of Judicature; then going to the Holy Water of *Apollo*, which was nigh, waſh'd his Hands.

There were other things beſide matter of Tragedy, which gave offence: For *Sylla* had declared himſelf Dictator, whereas

that Form of Government had then been laid aſide for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty Years. There was likewiſe an Act of Grace paſs'd on his behalf, granting Impunity for what was paſt, and for the future entruſting him with the Power of the Sword, Confiſcations, Tranſplanting of Colonies, erecting and demoliſhing of Cities, taking away of Kingdoms, and beſtowing them at pleaſure. He managed the Sale of Confiſcated Goods after ſuch an arbitrary imperious way, ſeated on a Chair of State amidſt beautiful Women, Mimicks, Fidlers, and ſuch like raſcally People, on whom he ſquander'd away the Revenues of whole Countries and Cities, beſtowing on ſome of them Ladies in Marriage againſt their Will; ſo as his Gratuities were much more intolerable than his Uſurpations. Having a mind to aſſure *Pompey* the Great by a nearer Tie of Blood, he commanded him to make void the Nuptial Bed, and forcing *Æmilia* (the Daughter of *Scaurus* and *Metella*, his own Wife) from *Marcus Glabrio*, he beſtowed her, great with Child, on him; but ſhe died in Labour at *Pompey*'s Houſe.

When *Lucretius Offella*, the ſame who reduced *Marius* by Siege, put in and puſh'd his Fortune hard for the Conſulſhip, he firſt forbad him; then ſeeing he could not

not reſtrain him from coming down into the *Forum*, with a numerous Train of Followers, he commanded a Centurion of the Guards out and ſlew him, himſelf ſitting on the Bench in the Temple of *Caſtor*, and beholding the Murther from above. The Citizens apprehending the Centurion, and dragging him to the Tribunal, he bad them ceaſe tumultuous clamouring, and let go the Centurion, for he had commanded it.

His Triumph, tho' of it ſelf exceeding ſtately, and ſet off with the unuſual Pomp, and Magnificence of Royal Spoils, was yet further illuſtrated, and drew after it a goodly Spectacle, *the Exiles*. For in the Rear followed the moſt eminent and moſt potent of the Citizens, crown'd with Garlands, and calling *Sylla*, *Saviour and Father*, by whoſe means they were reſtor'd to their own Country, and again enjoy'd their Wives and Children. When the Solemnity was over, and the time come to render an Account of his Actions, in a Publick Aſſembly, he was as punctual in enumerating the lucky hits of War, as any of his own Military Virtues. And from his *Fælicity* it was, that he made choice to be Surnamed *Fælix*. In his Addreſſes and Anſwers to the *Græcians*, he ſtyled himſelf, *Epaphroditus*, or *Beloved of* Venus.

His Trophies which are ſtill extant with us, bear this Inſcription, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus*. Moreover when his Wife had brought him forth Twins, he named the Male *Fauſtus*, and the Female *Fauſta*; by which words the *Romans* underſtand *Succeſs* and *Good Omen*. The Confidence which he repoſed in his good *Genius*, rather than in any Abilities of his own, emboldned him, though deeply engaged in Blood, after ſuch great Changes and Revolutions of State, to lay down his Authority, and ſettle the Right of Conſular Elections once more on the People. So that he not only came abroad, but on the *Forum* expoſed his Perſon publickly to the People, walking up and down as a private Man. And whereas, contrary to his Will, a certain bold Man, and his Enemy, *Marcus Lepidus*, was in Election to be Conſul, not by his own Intereſt, but by the Power and Sollicitation of *Pompey*, who was extreme gracious with the People; when the Buſineſs was over, ſeeing *Pompey* going home overjoy'd with the Succeſs, he called him to him, and ſaid, *Was it not politickly done of you, Young Man, to paſs by* Catulus *the beſt of Men, and chuſe* Lepidus *the worſt? Take heed, and look to thy ſelf, or the Adverſary thou haſt raiſed will be too hard for thee.* *Sylla* ſpoke this it may ſeem

ſeem by Divine Inſtinct, for not long after *Lepidus* grew inſolent, and broke into open defiance with *Pompey*.

*Sylla* conſecrating the Tenth of his whole Subſtance unto *Hercules*, entertain'd the People with ſumptuous Feaſtings. The Proviſion was ſo much above what was neceſſary, as that they were forced daily to throw great quantities of it into the River, and drank Wine forty Years old and upward. In the midſt of the Jollity, which laſted many days, *Metella* died of a Diſeaſe. Now becauſe that the Prieſt forbad him to viſit the Sick, or ſuffer his Houſe to be polluted with Mourning, he ſent her a Bill of Divorce, and cauſed her to be remov'd into another Houſe, whilſt alive; in this he obſerved the Law to a Tittle, out of Religious Superſtition; but as for the Retrenching Act which himſelf made, himſelf brake it, ſparing for no Funeral Coſt. He tranſgreſſed likewiſe his own Sumptuary Laws, thinking to allay his Grief by exceſſive Drinking and Revelling.

Some few Months after, at a Prize of Gladiators, when Men and Women ſat promiſcuouſly in the Theatre, no diſtinct Places being as yet appointed, there ſat by *Sylla* a beautiful Lady of high Birth, by name *Valeria*, Daughter of *Meſſala*,

and Sister to *Hortensius* the Orator. Now it hapned that she had been lately divorc'd from her Husband. The same came gently behind *Sylla*, and putting out her Hand, pluck'd a lock of his Garment, and then passed on to her Seat again. *Sylla* looking on, and wondring what it should mean; *No harm, Mighty Sir*, (said she) *for that I also was desirous to partake a little of your Felicity*. It appear'd straight that *Sylla* was well pleased, and even tickled with the Fancy; for he sent to enquire her Name, her Quality, and Behaviour of Life. From this time there passed between them many an amorous Glance, both of them at once oftentimes turning one on another, and interchanging Smiles. In the end Overtures were made, and a Match concluded on. All which was innocent perhaps on the Lady's side; but though the Lady was never so modest and virtuous, it was no such modest and seemly beginning of Love in *Sylla*, to take fire, as became Youth rather, at a Face, and buxom Humour, those common Incentives to the most disorderly and shameless Passions.

Notwithstanding this Marriage, he kept company with Actors, Actresses, and Minstrels, drinking with them Night and Day. His chief Favourites were, *Roscius* the

the Comedian, *Sorex* the Arch-Mimick, and *Metrobius* the Woman-Actor, for whom, tho' paſt his Prime, he ever retained a profeſt Kindneſs. He fell by theſe Courſes into a Diſeaſe, which grew ſo leaſurely upon him, as of a long time he perceived not his Bowels to feſter, till at length the corrupted Fleſh broke all out into Lice. Many being employ'd Day and Night in deſtroying them, the Work ſo multiplied under their Hands, as not only his Clothes, Baths, Baſons, but his very Meat was polluted with that Flux and Contagion, they came ſwarming out in ſuch numbers. Wherefore he went often by Day into the Waters, to ſcowr and cleanſe his Body, but all in vain; the Courſe returned ſo quick, and with ſuch numerous Supplies, as overcame all manner of Riddance. There died of the Lowſie Diſeaſe, amongſt thoſe of ancient note, *Acaſtus* the Son of *Pelias*; of later date, *Alcman* the Poet, *Pherecides* the Theologe, *Calliſthenes* the *Olyntian* in the time of his Impriſonment, as alſo *Mutius* the Lawyer; and if it be fit to bring in Men of infamous Memory, *Eunus* the Fugitive, who ſtirred up the Slaves of *Sicily* to rebel againſt their Maſters; after that he was brought Captive to *Rome*, died of this creeping Sickneſs.

*Sylla* not only foreſaw his End, but alſo writ ſomewhat concerning it; for in the two and twentieth Book of his Memoirs, which he finiſh'd ſome two days before his Death, he writes, That the *Chaldeans* foretold him, That after he had led a Life of Honour, he ſhould conclude the laſt Act in fulneſs of Proſperity. He declares moreover, That in a Viſion he had ſeen his Son, who had departed not long before *Metella*, to ſtand by in mournful Weeds, and beſeech his Father to caſt off further Care, and come along with him to his Mother *Metella*, there to live at eaſe and quietneſs with her. However, he could not refrain intermedling in Publick Affairs; for ten days before his deceaſe, he compoſed the Differences of the *Puteolaxians*, and preſcribed Laws for their better Government; and the very day before his End, it being told him that *Cranius*, a Man in Authority, deferred the Payment of a Publick Debt, in expectation of his Death, he ſent for the Man to his Houſe, and calling his Servants about him, cauſed him to be ſtrangled; but through the ſtraining of his Voice and Body, the Impoſthume breaking, he caſt forth a great quantity of Blood. Upon this his Strength failing him, after a troubleſom Night he died, leaving behind him two young Children by *Metella*. *Valeria*

was

was afterwards delivered of a Daughter, named *Poſthuma*; for ſo the *Romans* call thoſe who be born after the Father's Death.

Many ran tumultuouſly together, and join'd with *Lepidus*, to deprive the Corps of the accuſtomed Solemnities; but *Pompey*, tho' offended at *Sylla*, (for he alone of all his Friends was left out of his Will) having kept off ſome by his Intereſt and Intreaty, others by Menaces, gave it a ſecure and honourable Burial. It's ſaid, that the *Roman* Ladies threw on ſuch vaſt heaps of Spices, as beſide what was brought in one hundred and ten Veſſels, ſufficed to raiſe a large Statue for *Sylla*, and another for his Lictor, out of the precious Frankincenſe and Cinnamon. The Day being Cloudy over Head, they deferred carrying forth the Corps till about three in the Afternoon, expecting it ſhould Rain, but a ſtrong Wind blowing full againſt the Funeral Pile, and ſetting it all on a bright Flame, his Body was conſumed in a Moment. As the Pile ſhrunk down and the Fire was upon expiring, the Clouds ſhowr'd down, and continued raining till Night; ſo as his good Fortune was firm even to the laſt, and did as it were officiate at his Funeral. His Monument ſtands on *Campus Martius*, with an Epitaph of his own

own Writing. The Subſtance this, *That neither Friend nor Foe had out-done him, either in good or bad turns.*

---

## *The Compariſon of* Lyſander *with* Sylla.

HAving in like manner run through this Life, come we now to the Compariſon. That which was common to them both, was, that they were Founders of their own Greatneſs, with this difference, that *Lyſander* had the Conſent of the Citizens, in Times of right Underſtanding, for the Honours he received; nor forc'd he any thing againſt their Goodwill, or ſought to raiſe himſelf above the Laws; whereas, *In Civil Broils the Slave himſelf gets Honour*; as then at *Rome*, when the People were diſtempered, and the Government out of Order, one or other was ſtill a getting uppermoſt; no wonder then if *Sylla* reign'd, when the *Glauciæ* and *Saturnini* drove out the *Metelli*, when Sons of Conſuls were ſlain in the Aſſemblies, when others for Silver and Gold bought Men and Arms, and with Fire and Sword ſet up new Laws, in ſpite of all Lawful Oppoſition.

Oppoſition; nor do I blame any one in ſuch Circumſtances, for working himſelf into Supreme Power; only I would not have it thought a ſign of Sovereign Goodneſs, to be Head of a State ſo wretchedly diſcompoſed. But *Lyſander* being employed in the greateſt Commands and Affairs of State, by a ſober and well-diſciplin'd City, was ever eſteemed the beſt and moſt virtuous Man, in the beſt and moſt virtuous Commonwealth. Wherefore *Lyſander* often returning the Government into the Hands of the Citizens, received it again as often; for the Excellencies of his Virtues ever held the firſt Place. *Sylla*, on the other hand, when he had once made himſelf Maſter of the Army, kept up his Command for ten Years together, creating himſelf ſometimes Conſul, ſometimes Proconſul, and ſometimes Dictator, but was always a Tyrant. It's true, *Lyſander* (as was ſaid) deſigned to introduce a new Form of Government, after a milder Faſhion however, and more agreeable to Juſtice, than *Sylla*; not by force of Arms, but Perſwaſion; nor by ſubverting the whole State at once, but by more orderly directing the Succeſſion of Kings. And by Nature it ſeems juſt, that the moſt deſerving ſhould rule, eſpecially in a City which it ſelf got the leading hand of *Greece*, upon the account of

of Virtue, not Nobility. For as the Hunter conſiders the Whelp it ſelf, not the Bitch; and the Horſe-courſer the Foal, not the Mare, (for what if the Foal ſhould prove a Mule?) ſo likewiſe were that Politician extreamly out, who in the Choice of a Chief Magiſtrate ſhould enquire, not what the Man is, but how deſcended. The very *Spartans* themſelves have depoſed ſeveral of their Kings, for want of Kingly Virtues, as degenerated and good for nothing. A depraved Nature, tho' of an ancient Stock, is diſhonourable; whereas Virtue without Birth is honourable. Moreover, the one was injurious to many, upon the Score of his Friends; the other to his very Friends. It's confeſſed on all Hands, that *Lyſander* offended moſt commonly for the ſake of his Companions, committing ſeveral Slaughters to uphold their Power and Dominion; but as for *Sylla*, he out of Envy would have diſcarded *Pompey* from Commanding by Land, and *Dolabella* by Sea, altho' himſelf had given them thoſe Places; he ordered *Lucretius Offella*, who ſued for the Conſulſhip, upon divers meritorious Accounts, to be ſlain before his Eyes, raiſing thereby ſtrange Apprehenſions and Jealouſies in the Minds of all Men, for his Cruelty to his deareſt Friends.

The

The Buſineſs of Riches and Pleaſure does further yet demonſtrate in one a Princely, in the other a Tyrannical Diſpoſition. *Lyſander* did nothing that was intemperate or extravagant, in that full range of Power and Licence, but kept aloof as much as ever Man did, from that trite Saying, *Lion within, but Fox without*, he ever maintained ſuch a ſober, Laconick, well-tempered Converſation; whereas *Sylla* could never break his unruly Affections, either by Poverty, when young, or by a long run of Years, when grown old; but would be ſtill preſcribing of Laws to the Citizens, concerning Chaſtity and Sobriety, himſelf living all that time (as *Saluſt* affirms) in open Lewdneſs and Debauchery. By theſe ways he had ſo impoveriſhed and drained the City of her Treaſures, as to be forced to ſell her Liberties and Immunities to the aſſociated and well-affected Cities for Silver, although he had daily expoſed the wealthieſt and greateſt Families to publick Sale and Outcry. There was no end of his Favours vainly ſpent and thrown away on Flatterers; for what mean, what likelihood of Parſimony in his more intimate Converſation, and Endearments over Wine, when in the open Face of the People, upon Auction of a large Eſtate, which he would have paſſed over to one of

of his Friends at a ſmall Price, becauſe another bidding higher, the Officer had made Proclamation of the Advance, he broke out into a Paſſion, ſaying, *What a ſtrange unjuſt thing is this, O Citizens, that I cannot diſpoſe of my own Booty as I pleaſe?* But *Lyſander*, on the contrary, with the reſt of the Spoil, ſent even the Preſents which were made him to the Citizens. Nor do I commend him for it, (for he perhaps by exceſſive Liberality did *Sparta* more harm, than ever the other did *Rome* by Rapine) only I make it an Argument of his Contempt of Riches. They had a ſtrange peculiar Influence each Man on his own City. *Sylla*, a profuſe Debauchee, brought in Sobriety however amongſt the Citizens: *Lyſander* again, temperate as he was, filled the Town with Luxury: So as they both were blame-worthy, the one for raiſing himſelf above his own Laws; the other for cauſing his Citizens to fall beneath his own Example, in that he taught *Sparta* to want thoſe things, which himſelf had learnt not to want. And thus much of their Civil Adminiſtration.

As for Feats of Arms, wiſe Conduct, innumerable Victories, perillous Adventures, *Sylla* was beyond compare. *Lyſander* indeed came off twice victorious at two Sea-fights;

fights; I ſhall add to that the Siege of *Athens*, a Work of greater Fame than Difficulty. For all this, the Buſineſs of *Aliartus* in *Bæotia*, altho' perhaps it came about by ill Fortune, bears yet the ſemblance of ill Advice, when out of Ambition and Eagerneſs to fight, without further attending the King's Forces, which were then almoſt at hand from *Platææ*, he unſeaſonably approached the Walls, and was miſerably defeated by a Sally of inconſiderable Men; he received his Death-wound, not as *Cleombrotas* at *Leuctra*, reſiſting manfully the impreſſion of a juſt Enemy; not as *Cyrus* or *Epaminondas*, preſſing hard on the declining Battel, and making ſure the Victory; who all of them died the Death of Kings and Generals: But he, like ſome common Soldier, or one of the Forlorn Hope, caſt away his Life inglorioufly, giving teſtimony to the ancient *Spartans*, that they did well to avoid ſtorming of Walls, in which the ſtouteſt Man may chance to fall by the Hand not only of an abject Fellow, but by that of a Boy or Woman, as they ſay, *Achilles* was ſlain by *Paris* in the Gates. As for *Sylla*, it was ſomewhat hard to reckon up how many ſet Battels he won, or how many thouſands he ſlew: He took *Rome* it ſelf twice, and forc'd the *Pyræan* Haven, not by Famine, as *Lyſander* did,

did, but by ſeveral ſharp Encounters, driving out *Archelaus* from Land to Sea. And what moſt importeth, there was a vaſt difference between the Commanders they had to deal with; for I look upon it as an eaſie Task, or rather Sport, that ſame Overthrow of *Antiochus*, *Alcibiades* his Pilot, as likewiſe the Circumventing of *Philocles*, the *Athenian* Orator, *Sharp only at inglorious point of Tongue*; both whom *Mithridates* would have ſcorned to compare with the Maſter of his Horſe, or *Marius* with his Lictor. But of all the Grandees, Conſuls, Commanders, and Dæmagogues, to paſs by others who oppoſed themſelves to *Sylla*; who amongſt the *Romans* ſo formidable as *Marius*? What King more powerful than *Mithridates*? Who of the *Italians* ſturdied than *Lamponius* and *Teleſinus*? Yet of theſe, one he drove into Baniſhment, one he quelled, and the others he ſlew. Now the greateſt of all, which has been as yet related, in my Judgment, was, That *Lyſander* had the Aſſiſtance of the State in all his Atchievements; whereas *Sylla*, beſides that he was a baniſh'd Perſon, and ſorely overcharged by a Faction, at what time his Wife was driven from home, his Houſes demoliſhed, and Adherents ſlain, himſelf then in *Bæotia* ſtood Embattelled againſt infinite Numbers

of

of the Enemy, and adventuring all for the ſake of his Country, erected a Trophie: Nor, when *Mithridates* came with Propoſals of Alliance and Aid againſt his Enemies, would he ſhew any the leaſt Compliance, or ſo much as Civil Reſpect, either by greeting or vouchſafing him his Hand, till ſuch time that he had it from the King's own Mouth, that he was willing to quit *Aſia*, ſurrender the Navy, and reſtore *Bythinia* and *Cappadocia* to the two Kings; than which Action, *Sylla* never perform'd a braver, or with a Nobler Courage, when preferring the Publick Good to the Private, and, like a generous Dog, where he had once fix'd, never letting go his hold, till he had conquered the Enemy, he then ſet himſelf to revenge his own private Quarrels. We may perhaps make a better Eſtimate of their Manners, by weighing both their *Athenian* Actions in the Ballance. *Sylla*, when he had made himſelf Maſter of that City, which had upheld the Dominion and Power of *Mithridates*, in oppoſition to him, reſtored her to Liberty, and the free Exerciſe of her own Laws. *Lyſander*, on the contrary, when ſhe had fell from ſuch a vaſt height of Dignity and Rule, unmercifully took away the Democracy, impoſing on her the moſt Cruel and Lawleſs Tyrants. It's now time to

conſider, whether we ſhould ſwerve from the Truth or no, by declaring, that *Sylla* performed the more Glorious Deeds, but *Lyſander* committed the fewer Faults; as likewiſe by giving to one the Preheminence for Moderation and Abſtinence, to the other for Conduct and Valour.

THE



# CIMON.




This was the valiant and obliging Greeke
Who Conqverd when he acted or did speake;
His Courage and his Courtesy were greate
The haughty Persian bravely did defeate;
Gott in one day a double Victory
And so He Triumph'd over earth and Sea;

# THE LIFE OF CIMON.

Engliſhed from the *Greek*, by

*MAT. MORGAN*, A. M. of St. *John's* College in *Oxford*.

## VOLUME III.

*Peripoltas* the Diviner having brought the King *Opheltas* and thoſe under his Command from *Theſſaly* into *Bœotia*, left there a Family which flouriſh'd a long time after; the greateſt part of them inhabited *Chæronea*, the firſt City out of which they expelled the *Barbarians*. The Deſcendants of this Race, being Men of bold

Attempts, expoſed themſelves to ſo many Dangers, in the Incurſions the *Medes* made upon them, and in Exploits againſt the *Gauls*, that at laſt they were almoſt wholly conſumed.

There was left one Orphan of this Houſe, call'd *Damon*, ſurnam'd *Peripoltas*, for Beauty and greatneſs of Spirit ſurpaſſing all of his Age; but of Temper fierce and untractable. A *Roman* Captain of a Foot-Company that Winter'd in *Chæronea*, fell in love with this Youth; but ſince he could not obtain his infamous Deſires, either by Gifts or Entreaties, 'twas much feared that he would proceed to Violence. The Suſpicion was made more probable by the condition of *Chæronea*, which was then ſo weak, that it had not power either to prevent the Attempt, or puniſh the Commiſſion of the Crime. Of which *Damon* being ſenſible, and looking upon his Sollicitations as Injuries, reſolved to be reveng'd of him: Accordingly he and ſixteen of his Companions, conſpir'd againſt the Captain; but that the Deſign might be manag'd without any danger of being diſcovered, they all dawbed their Faces with Soot. Thus diſguiſed, and inflamed with Wine, they ſet upon him by break of Day, as he was ſacrificing; and having killed him, and not a few of thoſe that were

were with him, they fled out of the City; which was extreamly alarmed and troubled at the Murther: The Council assembl'd immediately, and pronounced Sentence of Death against *Damon* and all his Accomplices. This they did to justifie the City to the *Romans*. But that Evening, as the Magistrates were at Supper together, according to Custom, *Damon* and his Confederates breaking into the Room, killed them all, and then again fled out of the Town. About this time, *Lucius Lucullus* passing that way with his Forces upon some Expedition, and this Disaster having but newly hapned, he staid to examine the Matter. Upon enquiry he found the City was in no-wise faulty, but rather that they themselves had suffer'd; therefore he drew out the Soldiers, and carry'd them away with him. Yet *Damon* continuing to ravage the Country all about, the Citizens by Messages, and Decrees in appearance favourable, entic'd him into the City, and upon his return made him *Gymnasiarque*; but afterward as he was suppling himself with Oyl in the *Baigno*, they set upon him and kill'd him. For a long while after Apparitions being seen, and lamentable Groans heard in that place, (as our Fathers have told us,) they ordered the Gates of the *Baigno* to be made up: And

even to this day thoſe who dwell about that place affirm that they ſometimes ſee Spectres, and hear terrible Voices. The Poſterity of *Damon* (of which ſome remain in the Country of *Phocide*, near the City *Stiris*, living after the manner of the *Æolians*) are called *Asbolomenoi*, that is, Men dawbed with Soot. Becauſe with that *Damon* was beſmeared when he committed this Murther.

But there being a Quarrel betwixt thoſe of *Chæronea* and the *Orchomenians*, who bordered upon them; they hired an Informer, a *Roman*, to accuſe the Community of *Chæronea*, as if it had been a ſingle Perſon, of the Murther of the *Romans*, of which only *Damon* and his Ruffians were guilty; accordingly the Proceſs was formed, and the Cauſe pleaded before the *Pretor* of *Macedon*, for as yet the *Romans* had not ſent Governors into *Greece*.

The Advocates who defended the Inhabitants, appealed to the Teſtimony of *Lucullus*, who in anſwer to a Letter the *Pretor* writ to him, returned a true account of the Matter of Fact. By this means the Town gain'd their Cauſe, which otherwiſe they were in great danger of loſing. The Citizens thus preſerved, erected a Statue to *Lucullus* in the *Forum*, next to that of the God *Bacchus*.

We

We alſo have the ſame Impreſſions of Gratitude; and tho' remov'd from them by the diſtance of ſo many Ages, yet we think our ſelves obliged by that Act. And as to draw the Genius and Noble Inclinations of a great Perſonage, is harder, and ſo more valuable, than to hit the Lines of his Face; we will put *Lucullus* his Life amongſt our Parallels of Illuſtrious Men. Wherein we will not uſe one ſtroke of Flattery, but keep cloſe to the Truth. It is ſufficient we ſhew how we preſerve a grateful Remembrance of his generous Kindneſs; and he himſelf would not expect, that in recompence of that Service, which conſiſted in ſpeaking the Truth, we ſhould abuſe his Memory with a falſe and counterfeit Narration. For as we would, that a Painter who is to draw a beautiful Face, in which there is yet ſome Imperfection, ſhould neither wholly leave out, nor entirely expreſs what is defective, becauſe this would deform it; and that ſpoil the Reſemblance; ſo ſince it is very hard, nay almoſt impoſſible, to ſhew the Life of a Man wholly free from Blemiſh, let us in the ſame manner follow Truth: But if any Lapſes occur, which have been occaſioned by the Emotions of a ſudden Paſſion, or the neceſſity of the Times, let us look upon them ra-

ther as Defects of Virtue, than as Vices; let us carry the Pencil gently over them, out of reſpect to Human Nature, which never furniſhed any Man with ſo many good Inclinations to Virtue, but that there was ſomewhat ſtill wanting which rendred him Imperfect. Conſidering with my ſelf to whom I ſhould compare *Lucullus*, I find none ſo exactly his Parallel as *Cimon*.

They were both valiant in War, and ſucceſsful againſt the *Barbarians*, but affable and courteous to their Fellow-Citizens: Both extinguiſhed the Civil Broils at home, and gained ſignal Victories abroad. In ſhort, no *Greek* before *Cimon*, nor *Roman* before *Lucullus*, ever carried the Scene of War ſo far from their own Country, unleſs we except the Exploits of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, thoſe of *Perſeus* againſt the *Æthiopians*, *Medes*, and *Armenians*, and the Acts of *Jaſon*, (if of theſe any Monuments that deſerve Credit are derived down to our Days.) Moreover in this they were alike, that they finiſhed not the Enterpriſes they undertook: They brought their Enemies near their Ruin, but never entirely defeated them. There was yet a greater Conformity in their Nature, for the Civility and generous Reception they ſhewed to all Strangers,

Strangers, and the ſplendid Proviſions of their Tables. But we will omit thoſe other good Qualities, in which they were alike, for 'twill be eaſie to obſerve them in the following Relation.

*Cimon* was the Son of *Miltiades* and *Hegeſipyle*, who was by Birth a *Thracian*, and Daughter to the King *Olorus*; this appears from the Poems of *Melanthius* and *Archelaus*, which they both write in praiſe of *Cimon*. By this means the Hiſtorian *Thucidides* was his Kinſman by the Mother's ſide; for his Father's Name alſo was *Olorus*, and poſſeſſed Mines of Gold in *Thrace*, and was killed in *Scaptahyla*, a Diſtrict of *Thrace*, ſo called from its being full of Ditches. His Bones were afterward brought into *Attica*, and his Monument is ſhown amongſt thoſe of the Houſe of *Cimon*, near the Tomb of *Elpinice Cimon*'s Siſter. But *Thucidides* was of the Tribe of *Alimus*, and *Miltiades* of that of *Lacia*. *Miltiades* being condemned in a Fine of fifty Talents to the State, and unable to pay it, was caſt into Priſon, and there died. Thus *Cimon* was left an Orphan very young, with his Siſter *Elpinice*, who was alſo young and unmarried. At firſt he had no Reputation, being looked upon as Riotous, and one who lived a diſſolute Life, as in reality

lity he did, therefore they ſaid, there was an Agreement of Temper, as well as Appellation, betwixt him and his Grand-father, whoſe Name was *Cimon* too; but they proverbially called him, for his Stupidity, *Coalemos* (the Ideot.) *Steſimbrotus* of *Thaſſus*, who lived near about the ſame time with *Cimon*, reports of him, that he had little docility; that they could never teach him Muſick, nor the Rudiments of any other Science, which were ſo eaſily learned by the young Gentlemen of *Athens:* That he wanted a Vivacity of Parts requiſite for Converſation, was ungentile in his Carriage; neither had he any Capacity to manage ſerious Affairs: However, that there appeared in him ſomething that was great; and that he had ſuch a plain Openneſs of Humour, that you would have taken him, rather for a Native of *Peloponneſus* than *Athens*. He being ſuch an one, as *Euripides* deſcribes *Hercules*.

*Accompliſhment of Carriage he did want,*
*But he was Honeſt, tho' not Elegant.*

For this Character may well agree with that which *Steſimbrotus* hath given of him. They accuſed him in his younger Years, that he inceſtuouſly careſſed his own

own Sister *Elpinice*, who otherwise had no very great Reputation for Chastity: However, if her Brother was not her Gallant, 'twas reported that *Polynotus* was. For when he painted the *Trojan* Dames in the Porch, then called *Plesianction*, now *Pœcile*, he drew *Laodice* by her Face. He was not an ordinary *Mechanick*, to be paid for his Work: But studying all ways to please the *Athenians*, he bestowed it freely on the Publick. This all the Historians report of him; and the Poet *Melanthius* particularly in these Verses.

*This famous Painter, at his own Expence,*
*Gave* Athens *Beauty and Magnificence*;
*New Life to all the* Heroes *did impart*;
*Embellish'd all the Temples with his Art:*
*The Splendour of the State restor'd again:*
*And so he did oblige both Gods and Men.*

Some do affirm that *Elpinice* did not dissemble her Familiarities with her Brother: But lived publickly with him, as if she had been his Wife: For tho' she was no Fortune, yet he could meet with none that was an equal Match for her, by reason of the Quality of her Birth. But afterward, when *Callias*, one of the richest Men of *Athens* fell in Love with her, and proffered to pay the Mulct the Father

ther was condemned in, if he could obtain the Daughter in Marriage: *Cimon* accepted the Condition, and betroth'd her to *Callias*. There is no doubt to be made, but that *Cimon* was of an amorous Complexion. For *Melanthius* gives him hints of his Tendency that way, when in his Eulogies he facetiouſly rallies him for his Miſtreſſes: The one was called *Mneſtra*, and the other was *Ariſteria* of *Salamis*; and theſe the Poet ſaith, he was very fond of. However this is certain, that he loved his Wife *Iſodice* very paſſionately; ſhe was the Daughter of *Euryptolemus* the Son of *Megacles*. Her Death he regretted even to impatience, as appears by thoſe Elegies of Condolance, addreſſed to him upon his loſs of her. The Philoſopher *Panætius* is of Opinion, that *Archelaus* was the Author of thoſe Elegies; and indeed the time ſeems to favour that Conjecture. But take *Cimon* in all his other Capacities, you ſhall find nothing in him that is juſtly blameable, but rather all the Cuſtoms of his Life were very good. For as he was as daring as *Miltiades*, and not at all inferiour to *Themiſtocles* for Judgment, ſo he was incomparably more juſt and honeſt than either of them. As he was equal to them in Underſtanding, and in diſcharging all the Functions of a Commander;

Commander; ſo for the Political part of Government, he excelled them and every one elſe: And this too when he was very young, his Years not yet confirmed by any Experience. For when *Themiſtocles*, upon the *Medes* threatning them with an Invaſion, adviſed the *Athenians* to forſake their Town and the Country about it, and to carry all their Arms on Ship-board, and in the *Streights* of *Salamis* diſpute the Dominion of the Sea with their Enemies, When all the World ſtood amazed at the Confidence and Raſhneſs of this Advice; *Cimon* only was not at all ſurpriſed, but chearfully paſſed through the Street of *Ceramicon*, accompanied with other young Men, toward the Caſtle, carrying a Bridle in his Hand to offer to the Goddeſs *Minerva*; by this intimating, that there was no more need of Horſemen now, but Mariners. Thus after he had paid his Devotions to the Goddeſs, and offer'd up the Bridle, he took down the Bucklers that hung upon the Walls of the Temple, and ſo went down to the Port. By this Example he encourag'd the Citizens to follow him in order to their Embarking. Beſides, he was an handſome Perſon, of a juſt Stature, his Hair thick and curled. After he had acquitted himſelf gallantly in this Battel of *Salamis*, he obtained

tained a great Reputation among the *Athenians*; and they not only admired his Actions, but loved his Perſon. So that they were continually enflaming him with Emulation, to perform Deeds as Famous as that of *Marathon*; that entertaining great Conceptions of things, he might act ſutably thereunto. The People were very glad, when they ſaw him applying himſelf to matters of State; for they were diſguſted with *Themiſtocles*: In Oppoſition to whom, and becauſe of the Candor and Freeneſs of *Cimon*'s Temper, which was agreeable to every one, they advanced him to the higheſt Employments in the Government. The Man that contributed moſt to his Promotions was *Ariſtides*, who ſtill cultivated that honeſt Genius he ſaw in him: And purpoſely raiſed him, that he might be a Counterpoiſe to the Craft, and repreſs the Inſolence of *Themiſtocles*. But when the *Medes* were driven out of *Greece*, *Cimon* being Admiral, tho' the *Athenians* had not yet attained the chief Dominion, but ſtill followed *Pauſanias* and the *Lacedemonians*; he kept his Citizens in Heart, and by the Goodneſs of their Order and Equipage, but chiefly by their Valour, they were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. Beſides he per-

perceiving, that *Pauſanias* managed an Intelligence with the King of *Perſia*, to betray *Greece* to the *Barbarians*, and puft up with Arrogance and Succeſs, treated his Allies haughtily, and committed Inſolencies upon them; *Cimon* taking this advantage, robbed him of the Eſteem and Command of the *Greeks*, before he was aware. This he did not by open Enmity, but by affable Diſcourſe and the Obligingneſs of his Converſation. So that the *Allies* no longer able to endure the Sourneſs and Pride of *Pauſanias*, revolted all from him to *Cimon* and *Ariſtides*: Who, having gain'd ſuch a Party from him, writ to the *Ephori* of *Sparta*, and ſent particular Meſſengers to complain of him, deſiring them to recal a Man who was a Diſhonour to *Sparta*, and a Trouble to *Greece*. They report of *Pauſanias*, that when he was in *Byſantium*, he ſollicited a young Lady of a noble Family in the City, whoſe Name was *Cleonice*, to debauch her: Her Parents dreading the cruel Humour of the Man, were forced to conſent, and ſo abandon'd their Daughter to his Embraces. *Cleonice* commanded the Servants to put out all the Lights; ſo that approaching ſilently, and in the dark towards his Bed, ſhe ſtumbled upon the Lamp, which ſhe over-

overturned and ſpilled: *Pauſanias*, who was fallen aſleep, awaked, and ſtartled with the noiſe, thought an Aſſaſſin had taken the dead time of the Night to murder him; ſo that haſtily ſnatching up his Poniard that lay by him, he wounded his ſuppoſed Enemy to Death. After this he never enjoy'd himſelf, but was diſturbed in his Thoughts: For his dear Miſtreſs haunted his Bed, and would not let him Sleep, but interrupted his Repoſe with theſe angry Words.

*Villain, be juſt at laſt, and ſo repent;*
*Or ſee the hand that brings thy Puniſhment.*

This Tragical Accident gave the laſt ſtroke to his Ruin. For after this the Allies joining their Reſentments and Forces with *Cimon*'s, beſieged him in *Byzantium*: But he eſcaped out of their Hands, and fled to *Heraclea*. Here coming to a place which might be called the Oracle of the Dead, where they raiſe up Spirits to know future Events, he ſolemnly invoked *Cleonice*, and intreated her Ghoſt to be reconciled: Accordingly ſhe appeared to him, and anſwer'd him in theſe Words. "As ſoon as thou comeſt to *Sparta* thou ſhalt be freed from all the Miſfortunes which now afflict thee. Here-

by

by obſcurely foretelling (in my Opinion) that imminent Death he was to ſuffer. This is the Story that is told of him.

*Cimon* ſtrengthned with this acceſſion of the Allies, went General into *Thrace*: For he was told that ſome great Men among the *Perſians*, of the King's Kindred, having poſſeſſed themſelves of *Eione*, a City ſituated upon the River *Strymon*, infeſted the *Greeks* which confin'd upon them: Firſt, he defeated theſe *Perſians*, and ſhut them up within the Walls of their Town. Then he fell upon the *Thracians* themſelves, who were Borderers, becauſe they ſupply'd thoſe of *Eione* with Victuals; he drove them entirely out of the Country, and took poſſeſſion of it as Conqueror: By this means he reduc'd the Beſieg'd to ſuch ſtraights, that *Butes*, who commanded there for the King, in a deſperate reſolution ſet fire to the Town, and burn'd himſelf, his Goods, and all his Relations, in one common Flame. By this means *Cimon* got the Town, but no great Booty; for theſe *Barbarians* not only conſumed themſelves in the Fire, but the richeſt of their Moveables. However, the Country about it he gave to the *Athenians*, which was a pleaſant and fruitful Soil. For this Action the People permitted him to erect Stone *Mercuries*; upon the Firſt of which was this Inſcription.

*Thoſe were the valiant* Heroes, *who in* Thrace [*grace*;
*Did, conquering the* Perſians, *them diſ-*
*By Sword and Famine made them all to die,*
*And unto Death, as to a Refuge, fly.*

Upon the Second was this.

*This Monument did grateful* Athens *raiſe,*
*To give to her Commanders laſting Praiſe;*
*That this might make her Emulous Sons contend,*
*Encountring Death, their Country to defend.*

This was the Inſcription of the Third.

*Since* Mneſtheus *to* Atrides *Succours led,*
*From* Athens, *by whoſe Hands his Foes lay dead;*
*And as old* Homer *doth report the ſame,*
*All* Troy *did tremble at this Warrior's Name.*
*Then no one juſtly ought for to admire*
*That* Athens *to this Honour doth aſpire:*
*None are ſo Wiſe and Valiant as They,*
*As Chiefs to Lead, as Soldiers to Obey.*

Tho' the name of *Cimon* is not mention'd in theſe Inſcriptions, yet his Contemporaries do aſſert them wholly as erected to his Honour; and being ſo, it was a peculiar one

one to him. For *Miltiades* and *Themiſtocles* could never obtain the like. And when *Miltiades* deſir'd a Crown of Olive, one *Sochares*, who was of the Tribe of *Decelia*, ſtood up in the midſt of the Aſſembly, and ſpoke theſe words, which being agreeable to the Populace, were applauded by them, tho' unjuſt, and very ungratefully ſpoken. *When thou ſhalt Conquer alone*, (Miltiades) *thou ſhalt triumph ſo too.* What then induced them ſo particularly to honor *Cimon*? It was certainly this, that under other Commanders they ſtood upon the defenſive; but by his Conduct, they not only repulſed their Enemies; but invaded them in their own Country.

Thus they became Maſters of *Eione* and *Amphipolis*, where they planted Colonies: and afterwards took the Iſle of *Scyros*, which *Cimon* gain'd after this manner. The *Dolopians* were the Inhabitants of this Iſle, a People of a ſlothful Diſpoſition, and who neglected all Husbandry, their only courſe of life was Piracy; this they practiſed to that degree of miſchief, that they rifled thoſe that brought Merchandiſe into their own Ports, and ſo violated all the Laws of Commerce. Some Merchants of *Theſſaly*, they not only ſpoil'd of their Goods, but confined their Perſons. Who after-

wards breaking out of Priſon, went and demanded juſtice of the *Amphictyons*, which is a general Aſſembly made up of the People of *Greece*. Theſe, maturely weighing the Fact, condemned the Iſle in a great Pecuniary Mulct: But the People that were enrich'd with the Plunder, began to apprehend that 'twas they particularly that muſt refund; therefore they writ to *Cimon* to ſuccour them with his Fleet, and they declared themſelves ready to deliver the Town into his Hands. *Cimon* by theſe means got the Town, expelled thoſe *Dolopian* Pirates, and ſo opened the Traffick of the *Ægean* Sea. After this, underſtanding that *Theſeus* the Son of *Ægeus*, when he fled from *Athens*, and took refuge in this Iſle, was here ſlain by King *Lycomedes* upon certain Suſpitions; *Cimon* endeavour'd to find out where he was Buried: For the Oracle had commanded the *Athenians* to bring home his Aſhes, and to honour him as an *Hero*. *Cimon* could not for a long time learn where he was interred; for thoſe of *Scyros* diſſembled the knowledge of it, and were not willing he ſhould ſearch. But at length after diligent enquiry he found out the Tomb; and then carried the Reliques in his Admiral Gally, and with great Pomp and Show brought them into *Athens*, 400 Years

Years after *Theſeus* firſt left that Country. This Act got *Cimon* the Hearts of the People, who received the Diſcovery with great Joy and abundance of Thanks. To ſignalize and perpetuate the Memory of this Deed, and their ſenſe of it, they appointed that memorable Deciſion of Victory betwixt the two *Tragedians*, *Æſchylus* and *Sophocles*: For the latter having writ the firſt Play, being yet very young, the Applauſe of the Theatre was divided, and the Spectators ſided into Parties: To determine this, *Aphepſion*, who was at that time *Archon*, would not caſt Lots who ſhould be Judges; but when *Cimon* and the other Commanders with him came into the Theatre, to ſee the iſſue of the Contention, after they had perform'd the uſual Rites to the God of the Feſtival, the *Archon* came to them, and made them ſwear (being ten in all) to ſpeak their Judgments in this Contention according to Equity and Honour. And ſo being ſworn Judges, he made them all ſit down to give a deciſive Sentence. The Contention for Victory grew warm, and both Sides ambitiouſly ſtrove who ſhould get the Suffrages of ſuch honourable Judges; but the Victory was at laſt adjudged to *Sophocles*; which *Æſchylus* took ſo ill, that he left *Athens*, and went to *Sicily*, where

he died of Diſcontent, and was buried near the City of *Gela*.

*Ion* reports, that when he was a young Man, he newly returned from *Chios* to *Athens*, he chanced to ſup with *Cimon* at *Laomedon*'s Houſe: After Supper, when they had (according to Cuſtom) poured out Wine to the Honour of the Gods, *Cimon* was deſir'd by the Company to give them a Song; which he did with ſo good grace, that they were all charmed with his Voice, and extremely pleaſed with his Humour, declaring that he was more complaiſant than *Themiſtocles*, who being entreated upon ſuch an Occaſion to play upon the Lute, anſwer'd, That he could not touch an Inſtrument, but give him a ſmall Village, and he would raiſe it into a ſtrong and wealthy City. After talking of many indifferent things incident to ſuch Entertainments, they entred into the Particulars of thoſe ſeveral Actions for which *Cimon* had been Famous. And when they had run over the moſt ſignal, he told them they had omitted one, upon which he valued himſelf moſt for Addreſs and good Contrivance. He gave this Account of it. When the *Athenians* and their Allies had taken a great number of the *Barbarians* Priſoners in *Seſtos* and *Byzantium*, giving him the preference to divide

divide the Booty, he put the naked Priſoners in one Lot, and the Spoils of their rich Attire and Jewels in the other. This the Allies complained of, as an unequal Diviſion; therefore he gave them their choice to take which Lot they would, and the *Athenians* ſhould be content with that which they refuſed. One *Herophytus* of *Samos* adviſed them to take the Ornaments for their Share, and leave the Slaves to the *Athenians*: Upon this *Cimon* was laugh'd at for his ridiculous Diviſion: For the Allies carried away the Gold Chains and Purple Robes, and the *Athenians* had only the naked Bodies of the Captives, which they could make no advantage of, being unuſed to Labour. But a little while after, the Parents and Kinſmen of the Priſoners coming from *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, every one redeemed his Relations at a very high Ranſom. By this means *Cimon* got ſo much Treaſure, that he maintain'd his whole Fleet of Gallies with the Mony for four Months; and yet there was ſome left to lay up in the Treaſury at *Athens*. Now *Cimon* growing rich, what he gain'd from the *Barbarians* with Honour, he ſpent hoſpitably upon the Citizens. For he pull'd down all the Encloſures of his Gardens and Grounds, that all Travellers, but his Citizens eſpecially, might gather

of his Fruits freely and without danger. At home he kept a Table that was not furniſhed indeed with great Delicacies, but where was a Noble Competency of Proviſions, and all very good. Here the poor Townſmen had a conſtant and eaſie Acceſs, ſo that their Care was employ'd in diſcharging their Publick Duties, from which otherwiſe they would have been diſtracted by ſeeking after a Subſiſtence. But *Ariſtotle* reports, That he was partial in this Reception, and that it did not extend to all the *Athenians*, but only to thoſe of the Tribe of *Lacia*. Beſides, he always went attended with a Train of young Gentlemen, who were his Domeſticks, and very well clad; and if he met with an elderly Citizen in a poor Habit, he would ſtrip one of his Retinue, and cloath the decayed Citizen; and this was looked upon as very well done. He did enjoin them likewiſe to carry great Sums of Mony about them; and if they met in the Streets any one that they either knew, or who looked as if he were in diſtreſs, they had order to relieve him, and convey ſomething privately into his Hand. This *Cratinus* the Poet ſpeaks of, in one of his Comedies called *Archilocha*, after this manner.

*I am* Metrobius, *who ſtill believed,*
*Nay juſtly did expect, to be relieved*
*By ſuch a Table* Cimon *once did hold*
*For Men as poor as I, and Men as old.*
Cimon *of all the* Grecians *was the beſt,*
*Rich, Valiant, Honeſt, Noble to his Gueſt.*

*Gorgias* the *Leontine* gives him this Character, That he got Riches that he might uſe them, and ſo uſed them that he got himſelf Credit by them. And *Critias* one of the thirty Tyrants of *Athens*,

*Did wiſh to be, his Fortune to Compleat,*
*As Rich as* Scopas *Heirs, like* Cimon *Great.*
*And if the Gods his Life would farther bleſs,*
*He'd have in fight* Ageſila's *Succeſs.*

*Lichas*, we know, became Famous in *Greece*, only becauſe on the Days of the Sports, when the young Lads run naked, he uſed to entertain the Strangers that came to ſee theſe Diverſions. But *Cimon* ſurpaſſed all the antient *Athenians* for Hoſpitality and good Nature: For tho' thoſe taught the reſt of *Greece* to Sow Corn, and *the uſe of Fire and Water:* Yet *Cimon*, by keeping open Houſe, and giving Travellers Liberty to eat all his Fruits, which the ſeveral Seaſons afforded, ſeemed to

to reſtore to the World that Community of Goods which the Poets fabulouſly tell us was in the Reign of *Saturn*. Thoſe who object to him, that he did this to be popular, and gain the Applauſe of the Vulgar, are confuted by the conſtant Tenour of the reſt of his Actions, which all tended to uphold the Intereſts of the Nobility againſt the Populace; of which he gave inſtances, when he together with *Ariſtides* oppoſed *Themiſtocles*, who was for advancing the Authority of the People beyond its juſt Limits; and downright quarrelled *Ephialtes*, who, to ingratiate himſelf with the Multitude, was for aboliſhing the Juriſdiction of the *Areopagites*. And when all of his time, except *Ariſtides* and *Ephialtes*, took Preſents, he ſtill kept his Hands clean and untainted, and never acted nor counſell'd any thing but what was Juſt and Innocent. They report that *Ræſaces* a *Perſian*, who had Traiterouſly revolted from the King his Maſter, fled to *Athens*, and there being haraſs'd by Sycophants, who were ſtill accuſing him to the People, he applied himſelf to *Cimon*, for redreſs; to gain his Favour he brought him two Cups, the one full of Dariuſſes of Gold, and the other of Silver: *Cimon* would not receive them, but asked him ſmilingly whether he would

*Pieces of Mony.*

would have him to be his Mercenary, or his Friend; he replyed, his Friend: *If ſo* (ſaid he) *take away theſe Pieces, for being your Friend, I preſume they are at my Service when I ſhall have occaſion for them, and when I have I'll ſend to you.*

The Allies of the *Athenians* began now to be very weary of the War, and were willing to have ſome intervals of Repoſe, that they might look after their Husbandry and Traffick. For they ſaw their Enemies driven out of the Country, and did not fear any new Incurſions: Yet they ſtill paid the Taxes they were aſſeſs'd at, but would not ſend Men and Gallies, as they had done before. This the other *Athenian* Generals would conſtrain them to by rigour of Proceſs, 'till at laſt by fining them ſo grievouſly they did render the Government uneaſie to them, and even odious. But *Cimon* practiſed a contrary Method, he forced no Man to go that was not willing, but of thoſe that deſired to be excuſed from Service, he took Mony, and Veſſels unman'd: And permitted the Men to ſtay at home, and follow what gainful Vocations they liked beſt, whether of Husbandry or Merchandize. By this means they grew Luxurious, and enervated all their Courage by living

living at eaſe. But the *Athenians* he took into his Gallies, and by employing them in all his Naval Expeditions, inured them to ſuffer Hardſhip: So that being ſeverely Diſciplined, and continually bearing Arms, the Allies began to dread, and then flatter them who were grown thus dreadful at their coſt; 'till they fell to that degree of Subjection, as of Allies they almoſt became Tributaries and Slaves. No Man ever checked the growth of the *Perſians* Ambition ſo much as *Cimon*; for he not only beat them out of *Greece*, but cloſely purſuing them, would not let them take Breath, nor put their Affairs in any Poſture; but either took their Towns by open force, or made them revolt, by managing Intelligence within their Walls. So that in all *Aſia*, even from *Ionia* to *Pamphylia* there was not one Soldier that appeared for the King of *Perſia*.

When word was brought that ſome *Perſian* Commanders were upon the Coaſts of *Pamphylia* with a Land-Army, and a great Fleet of Gallies; *Cimon*, that he might intercept them before they ſhould come into the Sea that lyes betwixt the *Chelidonian* Iſles, ſet forth from *Triopium* and *Gnidos* with two hundred Gallies, very fleet, and that could eaſily tack about. They were firſt contrived and built by *Themi-*

*Themiſtocles*, but *Cimon* enlarged them, that when they came to grapple, there might be a greater Number of Combatants to oppoſe the Enemy. The firſt Place he ſhaped his Courſe to was *Phaſelis*, which tho' 'twas inhabited by *Greeks*, yet they would not quit the Intereſts of *Perſia*, but denyed his Gallies entrance into their Port: Whereupon he waſted the Country, and drew up his Army to their very Walls; but ſome Soldiers of *Chios*, which were then liſted under *Cimon*, being antient Friends to the *Phaſelites*, endeavour'd to mitigate the General in their behalf; and in the mean time ſhot Arrows into the Town, to which were faſtened Letters of Intelligence, which gave them account of the State of Affairs: At length Peace was concluded upon theſe Conditions, That they ſhould pay down ten Talents, and join their Forces with *Cimon* againſt the *Barbarians*. *Ephorus* ſaith, the Admiral of the *Perſian* Fleet was *Tithrauſtes*, and the General of the Land-Army *Pherendates*: But *Caliſthenes* is poſitive, that *Argomandes* the Son of *Gobrias* had the ſupreme Command of all the Forces. The whole Fleet anchored at the Mouth of the River *Eurymedon*, but with no Deſign to fight, becauſe they expected a Re-inforcement

of

of *Phœnician* Sail, which were to come from *Cyprus*; but *Cimon*, being reſolved to prevent their joining, ranged his Gallies in ſuch a Poſture, that if they declined fighting he might force them to it. The *Barbarians* ſeeing this, retired within the Mouth of the River, to prevent their being attacked; but when they ſaw the *Athenians* come upon them notwithſtanding their Retreat, they met them with ſix hundred Sail as *Phænodemus* relates, but according to *Ephorus* only with three hundred and fifty. Yet notwithſtanding this odds of number, they did nothing worthy ſuch mighty Forces; for they preſently turned the Prows of their Gallies toward the Shore, where thoſe that came firſt threw themſelves upon Land, and fled to their Army drawn up thereabout, but the reſt periſh'd with their Veſſels, or were taken; by this you may gueſs at their number; for tho' a great many eſcaped out of the Fight, and a great many others were ſunk, yet two hundred Gallies were taken by the *Athenians*. When their Land-Army drew toward the Sea-ſide, *Cimon* was in ſuſpence whether he ſhould make a Deſcent: For thereby he ſhould expoſe his *Greeks*, wearied with Slaughter in the firſt Engagement, to the Swords of the *Barbarians*, who were all freſh

freſh Men, and Superior to them in number: But ſeeing his Men reſolute, and fluſh'd with Victory, he made them land, tho' they had not yet wiped off the Sweat and Blood of the firſt Battel. As ſoon as they touched Ground, they ſet up a Shout, and ran furiouſly upon the Enemy, who ſtood firm and ſuſtained the firſt ſhock with great Obſtinacy; ſo that the Fight began to be very doubtful; the principal Men of the *Athenians* for Quality and Courage, were ſlain; at length, tho' with much ado, they routed the *Barbarians*, ſome they took Priſoners, and plundered all their Tents and Pavillions, which were full of very rich Spoil. *Cimon* being thus a perfect Conqueror, having in one Day gained two Victories, wherein he ſurpaſſed that of *Salamis* by Sea, and that of *Platea* by Land, was encouraged to purſue his Succeſs: So that News being brought that the *Phœnician* Succours, in number eighty Sail, were at the Gulf of *Hydram*, he bended his Courſe toward them, and encompaſſed them about. They had not received any certain account of the former Defeat, and now were in great doubt what to think: ſo that thus ſurprized they loſt their Veſſels, and all the Men were either Slain or Drowned. This Succeſs of *Cimon* ſo daunted the King of *Perſia*, that he

he preſently made that memorable Peace, whereby he engaged that his Armies ſhould come no nearer the *Grecian* Sea than the length of a Horſe Race: And that none of his Gallies or Veſſels of War ſhould appear between the *Cyanean* and *Chelidonean* Iſles. *Caliſthenes* ſays, that he agreed not to any Articles, but that upon the fear this Victory gave him, he prudently kept off ſo far from *Greece*, that when *Pericles* with fifty, and *Ephialtes* with thirty Gallies, cruiſed beyond the *Chelidonian* Iſles, they could not diſcover one *Perſian* Sail. But in the Collection which *Craterus* made of the publick Acts of the People, there is an original Draught of this Treaty, as following upon that Defeat. And 'tis reported, That at *Athens* they erected the Altar of Peace upon this Occaſion; and decreed particular Honours to *Callias*, who was employed as Ambaſſador to manage the Treaty.

The People of *Athens* raiſed ſo much Mony from the Spoils of this War, which were ſold by publick Out-cry, that beſides other Expences, and raiſing the South Wall of the Cittadel, they laid the Foundation of thoſe Walls (afterward finiſhed) which they called *Skele*, *i. e. Long-Shanks*, that join the City to the Port; but the Place where they built them being

ing a Mooriſh Ground, they were forced to ſink great Weights of Stone to ſecure the Foundation; and all this they did out of the Mony *Cimon* ſupplied them with: It was he likewiſe that adorned *Athens* with thoſe publick Places of Exerciſe, which they afterward ſo much frequented and delighted in: He ſet the *Forum* with Plane-trees: The Academy, which was before open, and expoſed to the Weather, he fenced with Trees, and beautified with Fountains; he made covered Alleys to walk in, and ſet out Ground for Foot and Horſe-races. Afterward being informed that ſome *Perſians*, who had made themſelves Maſters of the *Cherſoneſe*, were ſo peremptory in not quitting it, that they called in the People of the higher *Thrace* to help them againſt *Cimon*, whom they deſpiſed for the ſmalneſs of his Forces; he ſet upon them with only four Gallies, and took thirteen of theirs. Then having drove out the *Perſians*, and ſubdued the *Thracians*, he made the whole *Cherſoneſe* ſubject to the Commonwealth of *Athens*: From hence he went againſt the People of *Thaſos*, who had revolted from the *Athenians*; and having defeated them in a Fight at Sea, where he took thirty three of their Veſſels, he ſtormed their Town, ſeized for the *Athenians* all the Mines of

Gold on the other ſide of it, and all the Country dependant on it. This opened him a fair Paſſage into *Macedon*, ſo that he might have conquered the greateſt part of it. But becauſe he neglected that Opportunity, he was ſuſpected of Corruption, and that he was bribed off by King *Alexander*: So, by the Combination of his Adverſaries, he was accuſed of being falſe to his Country. Before the Judges he pleaded, "That he never made an "Intereſt with the rich *Ionians* nor *Theſſa-* "*lians*, as others have, from whence they "drew both Honour and Profit; but that "he always embraced the Friendſhip of "the *Macedonians*; for as he admired, ſo "he wiſhed to imitate the Sedateneſs of "their Temper, their Temperance and "Simplicity of Living, which he preferred "to any ſort of Riches; tho' he had al-"ways been, and ſtill was ambitious to en-"rich his Country with the Spoils of her "Enemies. *Steſimbrotus* making mention of this Trial, reports, That *Elpinice* in behalf of her Brother, addreſſed her ſelf to *Pericles*, one of the moſt vehement of his Accuſers; to whom *Pericles* anſwered with a Smile, *You are too Old* (*Madam*) *to manage Affairs of this Nature.* However, after that, he became the mildeſt of his Proſecutors, and roſe up but once all the

the while to plead againſt him, which he did but very faintly: And *Cimon* was acquitted. As for his demeanour at Home, he always reſtrain'd the Common People, who would have encroach'd upon the Nobility, and affected the Supreme Power over them. But when he afterward was called out to War, the Multitude broke looſe as it were, reverſed all the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms they had hitherto obſerved; this they did chiefly at the inſtigation of *Ephialtes*; they withdrew likewiſe the Cogniſance of almoſt all Cauſes from the *Areopagus*; ſo that all Appeals being made to them, the Government was reduced to a perfect Democracy; and this by the help of *Pericles*, who declar'd in favour of the Common People. But *Cimon*, when he return'd, ſeeing the Authority of this Great Council ſo eclipſed, was exceedingly troubled, and endeavoured to remedy theſe Diſorders, by bringing things to their former State, and reſtoring the Nobility to thoſe Degrees of Command they had in the time of *Caliſthenes*: This the others declaimed againſt, with all the vehemence poſſible, and began to revive thoſe Stories concerning him and his Siſter, and cried out againſt him as addicted to the *Lacedemonians*. Conſonant to theſe Calumnies are the famous Verſes of *Eupolis* the Poet upon

*Ill Nature to him we cannot reproach;*
*But he is Lazy, and he will Debauch.*
*He goes to* Sparta, *and is ſo unkind,*
*He leaves poor* Elpinice *in Bed behind.*

But if when Slothful and a Drunkard he could ſtorm ſo many Towns, and gain ſo many Victories; certainly if he had been ſober, and minded his Buſineſs with the leaſt Application, there had been no *Grecian* Commander, either before or after him, that could have ſurpaſſed him for Exploits of War. He was indeed a Favourer of the *Lacedemonians* even from his Youth; and *Steſimbrotus* reports, That of two Sons (Twins) that he had by a Woman of *Clitorium*, he named one *Lacedemonius*, and the other *Eleus:* Whence *Pericles* often upbraided them with the Race of their Mother. But *Diodorus* the Geographer doth aſſert, That both theſe, and another Son of *Cimon*'s, whoſe Name was *Theſſalus*, were born of *Iſodice* the Daughter of *Euryptolemus* the Son of *Megacles*.

However this is certain, that *Cimon* was countenanced by the *Lacedemonians* in oppoſition to *Themiſtocles*, whom they hated; and while he was yet very young, they endeavoured to raiſe and encreaſe his Credit in *Athens:* This the *Athenians* perceived,

ceived, but diſſembled their Knowledge of it; for the Favour the *Lacedemonians* ſhewed him was at that time advantagious to them and their Affairs; who were then Practiſing with the *Allies* to win them over to their ſide: So they ſeemed not at all offended with the Honour and Kindneſs ſhewed to *Cimon*, for he then bore the greateſt Sway in the Affairs of *Greece*, was kind to the *Lacedemonians*, and Courteous to the *Allies*. But afterwards the *Athenians*, grown more powerful, when they ſaw *Cimon* ſo entirely devoted to the *Lacedemonians*, they began to be angry, for he would always in his Speeches prefer them to the *Athenians*; and upon every Occaſion, when he would reprimand theſe for a Fault, or incite them to Emulation, he would Cry, "The *La-*
"*cedemonians* would not do thus. This raiſed the Diſcontent, and got him the Hatred of the Citizens; but that which miniſtred chiefly to the Accuſation againſt him fell out upon this Occaſion.

In the fourth Year of the Reign of *Archidamus* the Son of *Zeuxidamus* King of *Sparta*, there hapned in the City of *Lacedemon* the moſt dreadful Earthquake that ever was known in the Memory of Man; the Earth opened into moſt frightful Abyſſes; and the Top of the Mountain *Tay-*

*getus* was ſo ſhaken, that the hanging Rocks and abrupt prominent Parts of it fell down; and except five Houſes, all the Town was ſhatter'd to pieces. They ſay, That a little before any Motion was perceived, as ſome young Men were exerciſing themſelves in the middle *Portico*, an Hare of a ſudden ſtarted out juſt by them, which ſome of them, tho' all naked, and dawbed with Oyl, run after ſhouting; no ſooner were they gone from the place, but the *Gymnaſium* fell down upon them that were left, and kill'd them all. In memory of this fatal Accident, the Monument where they were afterwards interred is to this day called *Siſmatias*, (that is, *The Tomb of thoſe who were killed by the Earthquake.*) *Archidamus*, by the preſent danger, made apprehenſive of what might follow; and ſeeing the Citizens intent upon removing the richeſt of their Goods, he commanded an Alarm to be ſounded, as if their Enemies were coming upon them, that they ſhould preſently with Arms reſort to him. 'Twas this alone that ſaved *Sparta* at that time: For the *Helotes* were got together from the Country about, with deſign to ſurpriſe the *Spartans*, and ſpoil thoſe whom the Earthquake had ſpared: But finding them Armed, and well prepared, they ſtole away

way into their Towns, and openly made War with them, having drawn into Confederacy not a few of their Neighbours; and together with them, the *Meſſenians* fell upon the *Spartans*, who therefore diſpatch'd *Periclidas* to *Athens* to ſollicite for Succours; of whom *Ariſtophanes*, mocking, ſaid,

*Go to the Altars, and there proſtrate lie,*
*And, clad in Purple Robes, demand Supply.*

This *Ephialtes* oppoſed, proteſting that they ought not to raiſe up or aſſiſt a City that was Rival to *Athens*; but that being down, it were beſt to keep her ſo, and break the Pride and Arrogance of *Sparta*. But *Cimon* (as *Critias* relates) preferring the Safety of *Lacedæmon* to the Grandeur of his own Country, ſo perſwaded the People, that he ſoon marched out with a great Army to their Relief. *Ion* reports the Speech he uſed to move the *Athenians*, "That they ſhould not ſuf-"fer *Greece* to be maimed by the loſs of "ſo conſiderable a Member, nor their "own City to be depriv'd of her Compa-"nion. In his return from aiding the *Lacedæmonians*, he paſſed with his Army through the Territory of *Corinth*: Whereupon *Lachartus* reproach'd him for bring-

ing his Army into the Country, without firſt asking leave of the People: For he that knocks at another Man's Door, ought not to enter the Houſe without the Maſter's leave. *But you*, Lachartus, (ſaid *Cimon*) *did not knock at the Gates of the* Cleonians *and* Megarians, *but broke them down, and entred by force, thinking that all ſhould be open to the Powerful.* And having thus rallied the *Corinthian*, he paſſed on with his Army. Some time after this the *Lacedemonians* ſent a ſecond time to deſire Succours of the *Athenians*, againſt the *Meſſenians* and *Helotes*, who had ſeized upon *Ithone*: But when they came, the *Spartans* fearing their Courage and Reſolution, of all that came to their Aſſiſtance they ſent them only back, alledging they were turbulent and ſeditious. The *Athenians* return'd home, enraged at this Uſage, and vented their Anger upon all thoſe who were Favourers of the *Lacedemonians*; therefore upon ſome ſlight occaſion they baniſh'd *Cimon* for ten Years, which is the time preſcrib'd to thoſe that are baniſh'd by the *Oſtraciſm*. In the mean time the *Lacedemonians*, intending to free *Delphos* from the *Phoceans*, brought an Army to *Tanagra*, whither the *Athenians* preſently marched with deſign to fight them.

*Cimon* alſo came thither armed, and ranged

ranged himſelf amongſt thoſe of his own Tribe, which was that of *Æneide*; but the Council of five hundred being informed of this, and frighted at it, (his Adverſaries crying out he would diſorder the Army, and bring the *Lacedemonians* to *Athens*) Commanded the Officers not to receive him; wherefore *Cimon* left the Army, conjuring *Euthippus* the *Anaphlyſtian*, and the reſt of his Companions, who were alſo ſuſpected as favouring the *Lacedemonians*, to behave themſelves bravely againſt their Enemies, and by their Actions make their Innocence evident to their Countrymen. Theſe being in all an hundred took the *Arms* of *Cimon*, and follow'd his Advice; and making a Body by themſelves, they charg'd ſo deſperately upon the Enemy, that they were all cut off, leaving to the *Athenians* a deep Regret for the loſs of ſuch brave Men, and Repentance for having ſo unjuſtly ſuſpected them. Whereupon they did not long retain their Severity toward *Cimon*, partly upon remembrance of his former Services, and partly conſtrained by the juncture of the Times: For being defeated at *Tanagra* in a great Battel, and fearing the *Peloponneſians* would come upon them, at the opening of the Spring; they recall'd *Cimon* by a Decree, of which *Pericles* himſelf was Author:

Author: So reaſonable were Mens Reſentments in thoſe times, and ſo moderate their Anger, that it always gave way to the publick Good; even Ambition, the moſt ungovernable of all humane Paſſions, could then yield to the Neceſſities of the State.

*Cimon* as ſoon as he returned put an end to the War, and reconciled the two Cities. Peace thus eſtabliſhed; ſeeing the *Athenians* impatient of being Idle, and eager after the Honour and Spoils of War; leſt they ſhould ſet upon the *Grecians* themſelves, or with ſo many Ships cruiſing about the *Iſles* and *Peloponneſus*, they ſhould give Occaſions to inteſtine Wars, or Complaints of their Allies againſt them; he equipped two hundred Gallies, with deſign to make an attempt upon *Ægypt* and *Cyprus*; by this means to uſe the *Athenians* to fight againſt the *Barbarians*, and enrich themſelves by ſpoiling thoſe who are by nature Enemies to *Greece*. But when all things were prepared, and the Army ready to imbark, *Cimon* had this Dream, It ſeemed to him an angry Bitch bark'd at him, and a kind of humane Voice mixt with barking uttered theſe Words,

*Go on, for ſhortly thou ſhalt be*
*A Friend to my young Whelps and me.*

This Dream was hard to interpret; yet *Aſtyphylus* of *Poſidonium*, a Man skilled in Divinations, and intimate with *Cimon*, told him, that his Death was preſaged by this Viſion, which he thus explained. A Dog is Enemy to him he barks at, and one is always moſt a Friend to ones Enemies, when one is dead; that mixture of humane Voice with barking ſignifies the *Medes*, for the Army of the *Medes* is mixt of *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. But after this Dream, as he was ſacrificing to *Bacchus*, and the Prieſt cutting up the Victim, a great number of Emmets, taking up the little congealed particles of the Blood, laid them about *Cimon*'s great Toe: This was not obſerved a good while; but as ſoon as *Cimon* ſpied it, the Prieſt came and ſhewed him the Liver of the Sacrifice imperfect, wanting that part of it, which they called the head of the Entrail. But he could not then recede from the Enterprize, ſo he ſet Sail; ſixty of his Ships he ſent toward *Ægypt*; with the reſt he went and fought the King of *Perſia*'s Fleet, compoſed of *Phœnician* and *Ciliſſian* Sail; ſubdued all the Cities thereabout, and threatned

*Ægypt*;

*Ægypt*; designing no less than the entire Ruin of the *Persian* Empire; And the rather for that he was informed *Themistocles* was in great Repute among the *Barbarians*, and had promised the King to lead his Army, when ever he should make War upon *Greece*; but they say *Themistocles* losing all hopes of compassing his Designs, and despairing to equal the Virtue and good Fortune of *Cimon*, dyed a voluntary Death. *Cimon* still framing great Designs, and keeping his Navy about the Isle of *Cyprus*, sent Messengers to Consult the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* upon some secret Matter; or 'tis not known about what they were sent; the God would give them no Answer, but commanded them to return again, for that *Cimon* was already with him. Hearing this they return'd to Sea, and as soon as they came to the *Grecian* Army, which was then about *Ægypt*, they understood that *Cimon* was dead; and computing the time of the Oracle, they found that his Death was meant by it, as being then with the Gods. Some say he died of Sickness at *Citium* in *Cyprus*, and others of a Wound he received in a Skirmish with the *Barbarians*; when he perceived he should dye, he commanded those under his Charge to return to their Country, and by no means to spread the

News

News of his Death by the way; this they did with ſuch Secrecy, that they all came home ſafe, and neither their Enemies nor Allies knew what had hapned. Thus, as *Phænodemus* relates, the *Grecian* Army was, as it were, conducted by *Cimon* thirty days after he was dead. But with him periſhed all the good Fortune of *Greece*; for after his Death there was not a Commander that did any thing conſiderable, or which might deſerve the name of a great Action, and inſtead of uniting againſt their common Enemies, they who bore ſway in the Principal Cities, animated them againſt one another to that degree, that none durſt or would interpoſe their good Offices to reconcile them. Thus by mutual Diſcord ruining themſelves, the *Perſians* had time to recover Breath, and repair all their Loſſes. 'Tis true indeed *Ageſilaus* made ſome ſhew of the *Grecian* Forces in *Aſia*, but 'twas a long time after; he ſeem'd to reviſe ſome little appearances of a War againſt the King's Lieutenants in the Provinces, but they all quickly vaniſh'd; for before he could perform any thing of moment, he was recalled by civil Diſſentions at home: So that he was forced to leave the *Perſian* King's Officers to impoſe what Tribute they pleas'd on the *Grecian* Cities in *Aſia*, tho' under the Dominion of the

*Lacede-*

*Lacedemonians.* Whereas in the time of *Cimon*, no Officer of what Quality or Character ſoever could Command there, nor durſt any Soldier in Arms come within four hundred Furlongs of the Sea.

The Monuments called *Cimonian*, to this day in *Athens*, ſhew that to be the place of his Burial; yet the Inhabitants of the City of *Citium*, pay particular Honour to a certain Tomb, which they call the Tomb of *Cimon*, according to *Nauſicrates* the *Rhetorician*; who alſo reports, that in a Famine, when their Neceſſities were very great, they ſent to the Oracle, which commanded them to honour *Cimon* as a God.

Thus have I drawn the Life of this Famous Captain, and by theſe Proportions judge of him.

THE

# LUCULLUS.




See here Lucullus sues, He humbly bends,
Of PRISCA buys his Honors and his friends;
The way is base: but thus hard ffate commands,
For ffortune still is in a Woman's hands:

# THE LIFE OF *LUCULLUS.*

Tranſlated by

*GILES THORNBURGH*, A. M.

## VOLUME III.

*LUCULLUS* his Grandfather had been Conſul, his Uncle by the Mother's Siſter was *Metellus* ſurnamed *Numidicus*. As for his Parents, his Father was convict of Extortion, and his Mother *Cæcilia*'s Reputation was blaſted by her looſe Life. The firſt thing that *Lucullus* did, before ever he came to any Office, or medled with the Affairs of State, being then but a Youth, was, to accuſe the Accuſer of

of his Father, *Servilius* the Augur, having caught him in a Publick Treſpaſs. This thing was much taken notice of among the *Romans*, who commended his Juſtice therein, as an Act of ſingular Virtue. Even without the Provocation, the Accuſation was eſteem'd no unbecoming Action; for they delighted to ſee young Men as eagerly purſuing Injuſtice, as good Dogs do wild Beaſts. But when great Animoſities aroſe thereupon, inſomuch that ſome were wounded and killed in the Fray, *Servilius* fled. *Lucullus* followed his Study, and became Maſter of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues; which made *Sylla* dedicate to him the Commentaries of his Life, which he wrote himſelf, that the Hiſtory thereof might be more methodically ordered and digeſted. His Speech was not Elegant, and ready for Gain only, like one

ἐκατέραν γλῶτταν.

*A Fiſh that grows mad after Mid-ſummer.*

*That diſturbs the Hall, as a mad* Thynnus
*doth the Waters;*
*Out of it, altogether as dry, illiterate, and*
*mute.*

For in his younger Days he chiefly addicted himſelf to the commendable Study of the Liberal Arts; and growing old in the Camp, he refreſhed his Mind with the more comfortable Profeſſion of Philoſophy,

phy, chiefly favouring the Theoretick Part, and thereby wiſely preventing that dangerous Conteſt that was breeding between *Pompey* and himſelf. Beſides what hath been ſaid of his great Learning already, one Inſtance more was, That in his Youth, upon a Propoſal of writing the *Marſican* War in *Greek* and *Latin* Verſe and Proſe, after ſome witty Raillery upon the Occaſion, he ſeriouſly proteſted to *Hortenſius* the Lawyer, and *Siſenna* the Hiſtorian, that he would take his Lot for it; and very probable it is, that the Lot directed him to the *Greek* Tongue, for the *Greek* Hiſtory of that War is ſtill extant among us. Many are the Signs of the great Love which he bore to his Brother *Mark*, the earlieſt whereof the *Romans* at this day commemorate: Tho' he was elder Brother, he would not ſtep into Authority without him, but deferred his own Advance, until his Brother was fitly qualified to bear a ſhare with him, who thereby ſo won upon the People, as when abſent, to be choſen *Ædyle* with him.

*Clerk of the Market.*

Many and early were the Proofs of his Valour and Conduct in the *Marſican* War, being admir'd by *Sylla* for his Conſtancy and Mildneſs, and always employ'd in diſpatching affairs where Induſtry and Fidelity were required; eſpecially in the Mint,

moſt of the Mony for carrying on the *Mithridatick* War, being Coyned by him. Which being ſoon exchanged for neceſſaries in the Camp, was for a long time Current in the Army, and from thence called *Luculleian Coyn.* After this, when *Sylla* conquered *Athens*, and neceſſaries for his Army were cut off by reaſon the Enemy was Maſter at Sea: *Lucullus* was the Man whom he ſent into *Lybia* and *Ægypt*, to procure him ſhipping. It was then the depth of Winter, when he ventured but with three ſmall *Greek* Veſſels, and as many *Rhodian* Galleys, not only into the main Sea, but alſo among multitudes of the Enemies ſhipping, even there where they were abſolute Maſters. Arriving at *Crete*, he gained it: and finding the *Cyrenians* haraſſed by long Tyranny and War, he took Care of their publick Affairs, and ſetled them: Putting their City in mind of that Saying which *Plato* had Divinely uttered of them; who being requeſted to preſcribe Laws to them, and mould them into ſome ſound form of Government, made anſwer, *That it was a hard thing to give Laws to the* Cyrenians, *abounding with ſo much Wealth and Plenty.* For nothing renders a Man more intractable than Felicity, nor more gentle than the ſhock of Fortune. This made the *Cyrenians* ſo willingly

ſingly ſubmit to the Laws which *Lucullus* impoſed upon them. From thence ſailing into *Ægypt*, and preſſed by Pyrates, he loſt the beſt part of his Navy: But he himſelf narrowly eſcaping was brought in State to *Alexandria*. The whole Fleet (a Complement due only to his Majeſty) met him, and young *Ptolomy* ſhewed wonderful kindneſs to him, allowing him Lodging and Diet in the Palace, in ſuch a manner as no Stranger before him had been received in. Beſides, he gave him Gratuities and Preſents, not only ſuch as were uſually given to Men of his Condition, but four times as much; but he received nothing more than ſerved his neceſſity, and accepted of no Gift, tho' one worth Eighty Talents was offered him. 'Tis reported he neither went to ſee *Memphis*, nor any of the celebrated Wonders of *Ægypt*: It was for a Man of no Buſineſs, and much Curioſity to ſee ſuch things, not for him who had left his Commander in the Trenches, ſtorming the Walls of his Enemies. *Ptolomy* fearing the Effect of that War, deſerted the Confederacy; but nevertheleſs ſent a Convoy with him as far as *Cyprus*, and at parting, with much Ceremony wiſhing him a good Voyage, gave him a very precious Emerauld ſet in Gold: *Lucullus* at firſt refuſed it, but when the King ſhewed him his own

*Metropolis of Ægypt.*

Image graven thereon, 'twas too late for a Denial; for had he ſhewed any diſcontent at parting, it might have endanger'd his Paſſage. Drawing his Squadron together, which he had ſummoned out of all the maritime Towns, except of thoſe ſuſpected of Piracy, he ſailed for *Cyprus*; and there underſtanding that the Enemy lay in wait under the Promontories for him, he laid up his Fleet; and ſent to the Cities to ſend in Proviſions for his wintering among them: But when Tide and Time ſerved, he Rigg'd them out and went off, and Hoiſing up his Sails in the Night which he let down in the Day, came ſafe to *Rhodes*. Being furniſhed with Ships at *Rhodes*, he ſoon prevailed upon the Inhabitants of *Chios* and *Knidia* to leave the King's ſide, and joyn with him againſt the *Samians*. Out of *Chios* he drove the King's Party, and ſet the *Colophonians* at Liberty, having ſeized *Epigonus* the Tyrant who oppreſſed them.

About this time *Mithridates* left *Pergamus*, and retired to *Pitane*, where being cloſely beſieged by *Fimbria*, and not daring to engage with ſo bold and Victorious a Man as *Fimbria*, he contrived his Eſcape by Sea, and ſent for all his Fleet to attend him. Which when *Fimbria* perceived, having no Ships of his own, he ſent to *Lucullus*,

*lus*, entreating him to assist him with his in subduing the most Odious and Warlike of Kings, lest the opportunity of humbling *Mithridates*, an Enterprize which cost the *Romans* so much Blood and Trouble, should now at last be lost, when he was within reach, and so easily to be taken; who being caught, no one would be more highly commended than he, who stop his passage and seized him in his flight. He being drove from the Land by the one, and stopt in the Sea by the other, would be matter of Renown and Glory to them both. As for the great Actions of *Sylla* against the *Orchomenians* about *Chæronea*, they were little valued by the *Romans*. The Proposal was no unlikely thing, it being obvious to all Men, that if *Lucullus* had hearkned to *Fimbria*, and with his Navy, which was then near at hand, had block'd up the Haven, the War soon had been brought to an end, and infinite Numbers of mischiefs prevented thereby. But he, whether from the Sacredness of Friendship between himself and *Sylla*, reckoning all other Motives far inferior to it, or out of Detestation to wicked *Fimbria*, whom he abhorred for advancing himself by the late Death of his Friend, and the General of the Army; or at least by divine Providence sparing *Mithridates* then, that he might have him an

Adverſary for the time to come, would by no means comply, but ſuffered *Mithridates* to eſcape, and laugh at the attempts of *Fimbria*, he himſelf alone firſt, near *Lectos* of *Troas* in a Sea-fight overcame the King's Forces; and afterwards when *Neoptolemus* came upon him with a greater Fleet, he went aboard a *Rhodian Quinquereme Galley*, commanded by *Demagoras*, a Man very expert in Sea Affairs, and altogether as Friendly to the *Romans*, and ſailed before the reſt. *Neoptolemus* made up furiouſly at him, and commanded the Maſter with all imaginable might to bear up to him, but *Demagoras* fearing the Bulk and Maſſy ſtem of the Admiral, thought it dangerous to meet him ahead, but Tacking about received him aſtern, in which place though violently bore upon, he received no manner of harm, the blow being defeated by falling on thoſe parts of the Ship which lay under Water. At which time the reſt of the Fleet coming up to him, he Tack'd about, and vigorouſly falling upon the Enemy, put them to flight, and purſued *Neoptolemus*. After this he came to *Sylla* in *Cherſoneſus*, as he was paſſing the *Strait*, and brought timely aſſiſtance for the ſafe Tranſportation of the Army.

Peace being now made, *Mithridates* ſailed

ſailed off to the *Euxine* Sea, but *Sylla* Taxed the Inhabitants of *Aſia* two thouſand Talents, and ordered *Lucullus* to gather and Coyn the Mony: And it was no ſmall Comfort to the Cities under *Sylla*'s Severity, that not only a Man of ſpotleſs Life and Juſtice, but alſo of Moderation, ſhould be employed in ſo heavy and diſguſtful an Office. The *Mytilenians* who deſerted him, he was willing ſhould return to their Duty, and to be moderately fin'd for the Offence they had given in the Caſe of *Marius*. But upon their obſtinacy, he came up to them, overcame them at Sea, block'd them up in their City and beſieged them; then Sailing off from them openly in the Day to *Elea*, he returned privately; and an Ambuſh being laid round the City, lay quiet himſelf. Whereupon the *Mytilenians* diſorderly and eagerly plundering the deſerted Camp, in the very fact he fell upon them, took many of them, and ſlew five Hundred, who ſtood upon their Defence; he gained ſix thouſand Slaves and a very rich Booty.

He was no way engaged in the Great and General Troubles of *Italy*, which *Sylla* and *Marius* had cauſed, Providence at that time detaining him in *Aſia* about buſineſs. He was as much in *Sylla*'s favour as any of his other Friends, to whom (as is ſaid before) he dedicated his Memoirs as a

Token of his kindneſs, and at his Death paſſing by *Pompey*, made him Guardian to his Son, which ſeems to be the riſe of the Quarrel between them two, both young Men, equally contending for Honour. A little after *Sylla*'s Death he was made Conſul with *M. Cotta*, about the one hundred ſeventy ſixth Olympiad. The *Mithridatick* War being then under debate, *Marcus* reported that it was not finiſhed, but only reſpited for a time: Wherefore upon choice of Provinces, the Lot falling to *Lucullus* to have that part of *Gaul* that was within the *Alpes*, a Province where no great Action was to be done, nor Glory to be obtained, he was exceedingly troubled: But chiefly, the Succeſs of *Pompey* in *Spain* fretted him moſt, being a Man highly Renowned, and after the Completion of the *Spaniſh* War, the only one likely to be choſen General againſt *Mithridates*. So that when *Pompey* ſent for Mony, and ſignified by Letter that unleſs it were ſent him, he would leave the Country, and *Sertorius*, and bring his Forces home to *Italy*; *Lucullus* moſt readily eſpouſed his Cauſe, that Mony might be ſent him, to prevent any pretence of his returning home during his Conſulſhip; for all things would have been at his Diſpoſal at the Head of ſo great an Army. *Cethegus*, a very popular Man both

both for Words and Actions, the Chief Manager of Affairs in *Rome*, had conceived a mortal hatred againſt him, for declaiming againſt his Debaucht, Inſolent, and lewd Life, *Lucullus* therefore openly ſet himſelf againſt him. But *Lucius Quintus*, another Demagogue, inveighing againſt *Sylla*'s Adminiſtration, and endeavouring to put things out of Order, by private Exhortations and Publick Admonitions, he hindred his Deſign, and ſuppreſſed his Ambition, wiſely and ſafely encountring ſo great an Evil in the very Bud. At this time, News came that *Octavius* the Provincial of *Cilicia* was Dead, and many appeared for the place, courting *Cethegus*, as the Man beſt able to ſerve them. *Lucullus* ſet little value upon *Cilicia* it ſelf, no otherwiſe than as he thought by his acceptance of it, no other Man beſides himſelf might be employed in the War againſt *Mithridates*, by reaſon of its nearneſs to *Cappadocia*. This made him uſe all his Intereſt that that Province might be allotted to himſelf, and to none other; which put him upon a Project, not ſo Honeſt and Commendable, as expedient for compaſſing his Deſign, ſubmitting to neceſſity againſt his own Inclination. There was one *Præcia*, a moſt celebrated Wit and Beauty, but in other things nothing better than an Impudent Harlot: Who to the Charms

Charms of her Perſon, adding the Reputation of one that loved and ſerved her Friend, by making thoſe who came to her, as they diſcourſed of the Deſigns and Promotions of their Friends, had got a great Intereſt. She had ſeduced *Cethegus*; the Chiefeſt Man in Eſteem and Authority of all the City, and enticed him to her Love, and ſo made all Authority follow her. For nothing of moment was done, wherein *Cethegus* was not concern'd, nothing by *Cethegus* without *Præcia*. This Woman *Lucullus* gain'd to his ſide by Gifts and Flattery (and great coſt it was to procure ſo ſtately and famous a Dame, to be earneſtly concern'd for *Lucullus*) and preſently found *Cethegus* his Friend, uſing his utmoſt Intereſt to procure *Cilicia* for him: Which when once obtained, there was no more need of applying himſelf, either to *Præcia* or *Cethegus*; for all unanimouſly voted him to the *Mithridatick* War, by no hands likely to be ſo ſucceſsfully managed as his. *Pompey* was ſtill contending with *Sertorius*, and *Metellus* by Age unfit for Service; which two alone were the only Competitors, who could ſtand equal with *Lucullus* for the Command. *Cotta* his Collegue, after much ado in the Senate, was ſent away with the Fleet to guard the *Propontis*, and defend the *Bithynians*. *Lucullus* liſted his

his Forces and carried them over into *Asia*, where he collected ſome freſh ones, the old ones being utterly diſabled by diſſoluteneſs and rapine. The *Fimbrians*, as they were called, being utterly unmanageable by their long miſ-uſe, and unfit for Service. For theſe were they that had ſlain *Flaccus* the Conſul and General under *Fimbria*, and theſe were they who afterward betrayed *Fimbria* to *Sylla*; a bold and barbarous People, warlike, expert and hardy in the Field. *Lucullus* in a ſhort time took down the Courage of theſe, and diſciplin'd others, who then firſt (in all probability) knew what a true Commander and Governor was, who in former times had been courted to Service, and took up Arms at no bodies Command, but their own Wills.

The Enemies Proviſions for War ſtood thus. *Mithridates*, like many of the Sophiſters, very proud and haughty at firſt, ſet upon the *Romans*, with a very unprovided Army, ſuch indeed as made a good ſhew, but was nothing for ſervice; but being ſhamefully routed, and better inſtructed againſt a ſecond Engagement, he formed his Forces into a juſt and well martiall'd Army. And removing the Dangers, and Inconvenience which might happen among Men of different Nations, and Tongues,

and

and no leſs from gilt and rich Armour, a greater Temptation to the Victors, than Security to the Bearers, gave them broad Swords like the *Romans*, and Maſſy Shields; choſe Horſes better for Service than Shape, drew up an Hundred and twenty thouſand Foot in the Figure of the *Roman Phalanx*; had Sixteen thouſand Horſe beſides Chariots Arm'd with Scyths no leſs than an Hundred. Beſides which he ſet out a Fleet not at all cumbred with golden Cabins, laſcivious Baths, and Womens Furniture, but ſtored with Weapons and Darts and other Neceſſaries, and made a Deſcent upon *Bithynia*. Not only theſe Parts willingly received him again, but almoſt all *Aſia*, grievouſly oppreſſed before by the *Roman* Extortioners and Publicans, ſeemed to be recover'd of their former Diſtemper. Theſe afterward, who like Harpies ſtole away their very Nouriſhment, *Lucullus* drove away, and by reproving them, did what he could to make them more moderate, and thereby prevented a general Sedition, then breaking out in all Parts. While *Lucullus* was detained in rectifying this, *Cotta* finding Affairs ripe for Action prepared himſelf for the War with *Mithridates*, and News coming from all hands, that *Lucullus* was then Marching into *Phrygia*, and he thinking Victory juſt almoſt in his hands,

hands, leſt his Collegue ſhould ſhare in the Glory of it, haſted to Battel without him. But being routed both by Sea and Land, he loſt Sixty Ships with their Men, and Four thouſand Foot; he himſelf was forced into, and beſieg'd in *Chalcedon*, there waiting for Relief from *Lucullus*. There were thoſe about *Lucullus*, who would have had him leave *Cotta*, and go forward, being then in a ready way to ſurprize the defenceleſs Kingdom of *Mithridates*. And it was highly reſented by the Soldiers, that *Cotta* ſhould not only loſe his own Army, but hinder them alſo from Conqueſt, which at that time without the hazard of a Battel, they might ſo eaſily have obtained. But *Lucullus* in a ſolemn Speech declared unto them, *That he would rather ſave one Citizen from the Enemy, than be Maſter of all that they had.*

*Archelaus*, Governor of *Bæotia* under *Mithridates*, revolting from him, and ſiding with the *Romans*, demonſtrated to *Lucullus*, that upon his bare coming he might eaſily ſurprize all the Country of *Pontus*; but he anſwer'd, That it did not become him to be more fearful than Huntſmen, to leave the chaſe of the wild Beaſts abroad, and ſeek after Sport in their deſerted Lodges. Having ſo ſaid he made towards *Mithridates* with Thirty thouſand Foot, and

and Two thouſand five hundred Horſe. But being come in ſight of his Enemies, he was aſtoniſhed at their Numbers, and reſolved to forbear fighting, and wear out time. But *Marius*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent out of *Spain* to *Mithridates* with Forces under him, ſtepping out and challenging him, he prepared for Battel. In the very Inſtant of joining no manifeſt Alteration preceding, of a ſudden the Sky opened, and a great Body of Light fell down in the midſt between the Armies, in ſhape like a Hogſhead, but in Colour like melted Silver, inſomuch that both Armies being ſurprized ſtood off. This wonderful Prodigy happened in *Phrygia* near *Otryæ*. *Lucullus* after this began to think with himſelf, that no Man could have Power and Wealth enough, to ſuſtain ſo great Numbers as *Mithridates* had, for any long time in the Face of an Enemy, Commanded one of the Captives to be brought before him, and firſt of all asked him how many Companions were quartered with him, and how much Proviſion he had left behind him? and when he had anſwer'd him, commanded him to ſtand aſide; then asked a ſecond and a third the ſame Queſtion; after which comparing the quantity of Proviſion, with the Men, he found that in three or four Days time, his Enemies would

would be brought to Want. As for himſelf he was able to ſubſiſt longer, having ſtored his Camp with all ſorts of Proviſion, and living in Plenty, was better able to beſet his hungry Enemy. Which made *Mithridates* ſet forward againſt the *Cyzicenians*, miſerably ſhattered in the Fight at *Chalcedon*, where they loſt no leſs than Three thouſand Citizens, and Ten Ships. And that he might the ſafer ſteal away from *Lucullus*, immediately after Supper, by the help of a dark and gloomy Night, he went off, and by the Morning gained the City oppoſite to it, and ſat down with his Forces upon the *Adraſtian* Mount. *Lucullus* ſaw his Motion and purſued him, but daring not to fall upon him with diſorderly Forces, ſate down alſo near the Village called *Thracia*, a convenient Paſs, and plentiful Place, from whence, and through which all the Proviſions for *Mithridates*'s Camp muſt of neceſſity come. Whereupon judging of the Event, he kept not his Mind from his Soldiers, but when the Camp was fortified, and the Works finiſhed, called them together, and with great aſſurance told them, that in few Days, without the expence of Blood, he would bring Victory to them.

*Mithridates* beſieged the *Cyzicenians* with ten Camps by Land, and with his Ships

Ships blockt up the Strait that was betwixt their City and the Continent, and ſtormed them on all ſides, who were fully prepared ſtoutly to receive him, and reſolved to endure the utmoſt extremity, rather than forſake the *Romans*. That which troubled them moſt was, that they knew not where *Lucullus* was, and heard nothing of him, though at that time his Army was viſible before them. But they were impoſed upon, by the *Mithridatians*; who ſhewing them the *Romans* Encamped on the Hills, Do ye ſee thoſe, ſaid they! thoſe are the Auxiliary *Armenians* and *Medes* which *Tigranes* ſent to *Mithridates*. Theſe were aſtoniſh'd at the vaſt numbers round them, and could not believe any place of relief was left them, no not if *Lucullus* had come up to their Aſſiſtance. *Demonax* ſent by *Archelaus* was the firſt who told them of *Lucullus*'s arrival; but they disbeliev'd his report, and thought he came with forged News to comfort them. At which time a Fugitive Boy was taken and brought before them; who being asked where *Lucullus* was, ſmiled at their jeſting, as he thought; but finding them in earneſt, with his finger ſhewed them the *Roman* Camp; upon which they took Courage. In the Lake *Daſcylitis* they uſed Veſſels of a midling ſize, the biggeſt whereof *Lucullus* drew aſhoar, and car-

Παραβεβλῆσθαι.

carrying her in a Waggon to the Sea, filled her with Soldiers, who Sailing along unſeen in the dead of the Night, came ſafe to the City. The Gods themſelves wondring at the Conſtancy of the *Cyzicenians*, ſeem to have animated them with ſigns from above, but more eſpecially now in the Feſtival of *Proſerpina*, where a black Heifer being wanting for Sacrifice, they ſupplied it by a Meat-offering, which they ſet before the Altar. The holy Heifer ſet apart for the Goddeſs, and at that time grazing with the Herd of the *Cyzicenians* on the other ſide of the Strait, left the Herd and came home to the City alone, and offered her ſelf for a Sacrifice. By Night the Goddeſs appearing to *Ariſtagoras* the *Town Clerk*, *I am come*, ſaid ſhe, *and have brought the* Lybian *Piper againſt the* Pontick *Trumpeter*; *bid the Citizens therefore be of good Courage*. While the *Cyzicenians* were wondring at the Revelation, by a ſudden North wind there aroſe a great Storm at Sea. The King's battering Engines, the wonderful Contrivance of *Nicomedes* of *Theſſaly*, then under the Walls, by their cracking and ſhivering ſoon demonſtrated what would follow; after which a mighty tempeſtuous South wind ſucceeding, broke down the reſt of the works in a Moments

τῷ δήμῳ γεφυμαίοις. ἀνείτω πνεύματος.

ſpace, and by a violent concuſſion, threw down a Wooden Tower a hundred Cubits high. 'Tis ſaid that in *Ilium*, *Minerva* appeared unto many in the Night with bloody and torn Garments, telling them that ſhe then came from relieving the *Cyzicenians*; and the Inhabitants to this day have a Monument, with an Inſcription by publick order of the ſame.

*Mithridates*, through the knavery of his Officers, not knowing the want of Proviſion in his Camp, was troubled in mind, that the *Cyzicenians* ſhould hold out Siege againſt him: But his Ambition and Anger fell, when he ſaw his Soldiers in want, and feeding on Mans fleſh; *Lucullus* being no airy vain-glorious Enemy, but one according to the Proverb, who made the ſeat of War in their Bellies, by ſeizing on the food, which ſhould ſuſtain them. *Mithridates* therefore took advantage of the time, while he was ſtorming a Fort, and ſent away almoſt all his Horſe to *Bithynia*, with the Sumpters, and as many of the Foot as were unfit for ſervice. Which *Lucullus* underſtanding, came to his Camp; and in the Morning during the Storm, took ten bands of Foot, and the Horſe with him, and purſued them through Tempeſt and Cold, tho' the ſeverity of

of the Weather forc'd ſome of his Soldiers back, who were ready to periſh under it, and with the reſt coming upon the Enemy, near the River *Rhyndacus* overthrew them with ſo great an overthrow, that the very Women of *Apollonia* came out to ſeize on the Booty and rob the Slain. Great numbers, as we may ſuppoſe, were ſlain, ſix thouſand Horſes taken with an infinite number of labouring Cattle, and no leſs then fifteen thouſand Men. All which he led along by the Enemies Camp. And here I cannot but wonder at *Saluſt*, who ſays, that this was the firſt time Camels were ſeen by the *Romans*, as if he thought thoſe who fought under *Scipio* againſt *Antiocus* before, or thoſe lately under the Command of *Archelaus* againſt the *Orchomenians* about *Chæronea*, had not known what a Camel was. But however, 'tis well known that *Mithridates* ſoon fled, and contrived Delays and Diverſions for *Lucullus*, while he ſent his Admiral *Ariſtonicus* to the *Greek*-Sea; who was betray'd in the very inſtant of going off, and *Lucullus* became Maſter of him, and ten thouſand pieces of Gold, which he was carrying with him, to corrupt ſome of the *Roman* Army. After which *Mithridates* himſelf made for the Sea, leaving the Foot Officers to Conduct the Army. Upon whom *Lucullus* fell about the River *Granicus*, where he took a vaſt

number alive, and ſlew fifteen Thouſand. 'Tis reported that the number of fighting Men, and others who followed the Camp, deſtroy'd, amounted to *thirty Myriads.* 300000

*Lucullus* firſt went into *Cyricum*, and then fitting his Navy, Sail'd away into the Helleſpont, and arriving at *Troas*, he lodged in the Temple of *Venus*, where, in the night he thought he ſaw the Goddeſs coming to him, and ſaying, *Why ſleepeſt thou great Lion, when the Fawns are nigh?*

Riſing up hereupon, he called his Friends to him, and told them his Viſion, at which inſtant ſome *Ilians* being preſent, acquainted him, that thirteeen of the Kings *Quinqueremes* were ſeen off the *Achean* Haven Sailing for *Lemnus*. He took theſe, and ſlew their Admiral *Iſidorus*. And then made after another Squadron; who were in harbour, with their Veſſels aſhoar, but fought from above deck, and ſorely gall'd *Lucullus*'s Men; there being neither room to ſail round them, nor to bear upon them for any damage, while they ſtood ſecure, and fixt on the Sand. After much ado, at the only landing place of all the Iſland, he landed the choiceſt of his Men, who falling upon the Enemy behind, kill'd ſome, and forced others to cut their Cables, who making from the ſhoar, fell foul upon one another, or came within reach of *Lucullus* his Fleet. Many

ny were kill'd in the Action. Among the Captives was *Marius* the Commander ſent by *Sertorius*, a Man who had but one Eye; And it was *Lucullus*'s ſtrict Command to his Men before the Engagement that they ſhould kill no Man who had but one Eye; that he might rather die under diſgrace and reproach. This being over, he haſtned his purſuit after *Mithridates*, whom he hoped to find at *Bythinia*, blockt up by *Voconius*, whom he ſent out before to *Nicomedia* with part of the Fleet, to ſtop his flight: But *Voconius*, by his mirth and jollity in *Samothracia* ſlipt his opportunity, *Mithridates* being paſt by, with all his Fleet: Who haſtning into *Pontus* before *Lucullus* came up to him, was nevertheleſs catch'd in a Storm, which diſperſed his Fleet, and ſunk ſeveral Ships. The Wreck floated on all the Neighbouring Shoar for many days after. The Ship wherein he himſelf was, uncapable of being brought aſhoar by the Maſters for its bigneſs, rolling up and down in the Flood, being heavy with Water, and ready to ſink, he left, and went aboard a Pyratical Veſſel, delivering himſelf into the hands of Pyrates, and unexpectedly and wonderfully came ſafe to *Heraclea* in *Pontus*.

There happen'd a generous Emulation between *Lucullus* and the Senate: For they having decreed him three thouſand Talents to

furniſh out a Navy, he himſelf was againſt it; and ſent them word that without ſo great Supplies, by the confederate ſhipping alone, he did not in the leaſt doubt, but to rout *Mithridates* from the Sea. And ſo he did by Aſſiſtance from above, for 'tis reported that *Diana Priapina* ſent the great Tempeſt upon the People of *Pontus*, becauſe they had robbed her Temple, and removed her Image. When many were perſwading *Lucullus* to go directly on, he rejected their Counſel, and marched through *Bythinia* and *Galatia*, to the King's Country; in ſo great ſcarcity of Proviſion at firſt, that thirty thouſand *Galatians* followed, every Man carrying a Buſhel of Wheat at his back. But he ſubduing all in his Progreſs before him, at laſt arrived at ſo great Plenty, that an Ox was ſold in the Camp for a ſingle Groat, and a Slave for four. The other Booty they made no Account of, but took and deſtroyed as they pleaſed: There being no Conteſt among them, where all were ſatisfied. But in as much as they had made frequent Incurſions and Advances as far as *Themiſcyra*, and the inner *Thermodon*, and had laid waſte the Country before them, they began to Diſcourſe with *Lucullus* in good Earneſt, " Why he took ſo many Towns by " Surrender, and never an one by Storm,

" which

"which might enrich them with the Plun-
"der. And now forſooth leaving *Ami-*
"*ſus* behind, a Rich and Wealthy City of
"eaſie Conqueſt (if cloſely beſieged) to
"carry us into the *Tibarenian*, and *Chal-*
"*dean* Wilderneſs, to fight with *Mithrida-*
"*tes*. *Lucullus* little thinking this would be of ſo dangerous Conſequence, as it afterwards prov'd, took no notice of it, but ſlighted it: And choſe rather to excuſe himſelf to thoſe who blamed his Tardineſs, in loſing time about ſmall pitiful places, not worth the while, and allowing *Mithridates* time to recruit. "That is what I deſign,
"ſaid he, and am contriving by my delay,
"that he may grow great again, and ga-
"ther a conſiderable Army, which may
"induce him to ſtand, and not fly away
"before us. For do ye not ſee the vaſt
"and boundleſs Wilderneſs behind? *Cau-*
"*caſus* is not far off, and the ſteep and
"craggy Mountains, enough to conceal
"numbers of Kings in their flight from
"Battel. Beſides this, a Journey but of few
"days from *Cabira* to *Armenia*, where
"*Tigranes* Reigns, King of Kings; who
"by his Power diſſolved the *Parthian* Em-
"pire in *Aſia*, brought ſeveral *Greek*
"Towns under the *Median* Yoke, Con-
"quered *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, extinguiſh-
"ed the Royal Line of *Seleucus*, and car-

" ried away their Wives and Daughters by
" Violence. This ſame is Relation, and
" Son-in-Law to *Mithridates*, and cannot
" but receive him upon Entreaty, and en-
" ter into War with us to defend him; ſo
" that while we endeavour to depoſe *Mi-*
" *thridates*, we ſhall endanger the bring-
" ing in of *Tigranes* againſt us. Who al-
" ready hath ſought occaſion to fall out
" with us, but can never find one ſo juſti-
" fiable, as the ſuccour of a Friend and
" neceſſitous Prince. Why therefore ſhould
" we put *Mithridates* upon this ſtraight,
" who as yet knows not how he may beſt
" fight with us, and utterly diſdains to
" ſtoop to *Tigranes*? And not rather allow
" him time to gather a new Army and
" grow Inſolent, that we our ſelves might
" fight with *Colchians*, and *Tibarenians*,
" whom we have often defeated already,
" and not with *Medes* and *Armenians*. Up-
on theſe Motives *Lucullus* ſate down be-
fore *Amiſus*, and ſlowly carried on the
Siege. But the Winter being well ſpent,
he left *Murena* in Charge with it, and
went himſelf againſt *Mithridates*, then
Rendezvouzing at *Cabira*, and reſolving to
wait for the *Romans*, with Forty thouſand
Foot about him, and Thirteen thouſand
Horſe, wherein he chiefly confided. But
paſſing the River *Lycus*, he Challenged
the

the *Romans* into the Plains, where the Cavalry engaged, and the *Romans* were beaten. *Pomponius* a Man of good Note was taken, Wounded; and Sore, and in Pain as he was, was carried before *Mithridates*, and asked by the King, if by ſaving his Life he would become his Friend; who anſwered, *Yes, if thou O King wilt be reconciled to the* Romans, *if not, thy Enemy. Mithridates* wondered at him, and did him no hurt. The Enemy being Maſter of the Plains, *Lucullus* was ſomething afraid, and delayed getting to the Mountains, being very large, Woody, and almoſt inacceſſible, when by good Luck ſome *Greeks* who had fled into a Cave were taken, the eldeſt of whom *Artemidorus* by name, promiſed to bring *Lucullus* and ſeat him in a place of ſafety for his Army, and a Fort that over-lookt *Cabira. Lucullus* believing him, lighted his Fires, and marched in the Night; and ſafely paſſing the *Straight* gained the Port, and in the Morning was ſeen above the Enemy, pitching his Camp in a Place advantageous to deſcend upon them, if he deſired to fight; and ſecure from being forced, if to lye ſtill. Neither ſide was willing to engage at preſent: But 'tis reported that ſome of the King's Party being hunting a Stag, ſome *Romans* quartered upon them and

and met them. Whereupon they Skirmiſhed, more ſtill drawing together to each ſide. In ſhort, the King's party prevailed, whereupon the *Romans* from their Camp ſeeing their Companions fly, were enraged, ran to *Lucullus* with Intreaties to lead them out, preſſing that Sign might be given for Battel. But he, that they might know of what Conſequence the Preſence and Appearance of a wiſe Governor is in time of Conflict and Danger, Commanded them to ſtand ſtill: But himſelf went down into the Plains, and meeting with the foremoſt that fled, Commanded them to ſtand, and turn back with him. Theſe obeying, the reſt followed, and making up a Body, with no great difficulty drove back the Enemies and purſued them to their Camp. After his return, *Lucullus* inflicted a juſt Puniſhment upon the Fugitives, and made them dig a Trench naked of twelve Foot, while the reſt ſtood by and lookt on.

There was in *Mithridates*'s Camp, one *Olthacus* Governor of the *Dardarians*, a Barbarous People living near the Lake *Mœotis*, a Man remarkable for Strength and Courage in Fight, Wiſe in Council, and Pleaſant and Free in Converſation. He out of Emulation and Glory, outvying the reſt of the Lords, promiſed a great piece

piece of Service to *Mithridates*, no leſs than the Death of *Lucullus*. The King commended his Reſolution, and according to agreement counterfeited Anger, and ſlighted him; whereupon he took Horſe and fled to *Lucullus*, who kindly received him, being a Man of great Credit in the Army. After ſome ſhort tryal of his Sagacity and Wiſdom, he found way to *Lucullus*'s Board and Council. The *Dardarian* thinking he had a fair opportunity, Commanded his Servants to lead his Horſe out of the Camp, while he himſelf, as the Soldiers were refreſhing and eaſing themſelves in the ſhade, it being then high Noon, went to the General's Tent, not at all ſuſpecting that Entrance would be denyed him, who was ſo familiar with the General, and came under pretence of extraordinary Buſineſs with him. He had certainly been admitted, had not Sleep, which hath deſtroyed many Captains, ſaved *Lucullus*. For ſo it was, and *Menedemus* one of the Bed-Chamber was ſtanding at the Door, who told *Olthacus*, that it was altogether unſeaſonable to ſee him, ſince after long Watching and hard Labour, he was but juſt before laid down to Compoſe him. *Olthacus* would not go away upon this Denial, but ſtill perſiſted, ſaying that he muſt go in to Diſcourſe of ſome neceſſary Affairs;

Affairs; whereupon *Menedemus* grew Angry, and replyed, *That nothing was more neceſſary than the Safety of* Lucullus, and forc'd him away with both Hands. Whereupon out of Fear he ſtraitway left the Camp, took Horſe, and without Effect returned to *Mithridates*. " Thus in Time, " as in Phyſick, there are Moments of Life " and Death.

After this *Somatius* being ſent out with ten Companies for Forage, and purſued by *Menander*, one of *Mithridates*'s Captains, ſtood his Ground, and after a ſharp Engagement ſlew and deſtroyed the Enemy. *Adrianus* being ſent afterward with other Forces, to procure Food enough and to ſpare for the Camp, *Mithridates* would by no means ſuffer him, but diſpatch'd *Meremachus* and *Myro* with a great Force, both Horſe and Foot, againſt him, all which, except two (as is reported) were cut off by the *Romans*. *Mithridates* concealed the Loſs, giving out that it was a ſmall Defeat, nothing near ſo great as reported, and occaſioned chiefly by the unskilfulneſs of the Leaders. But *Adrianus* in great Pomp paſſed by his Camp, having many Waggons full of Corn, and other Booty; which brought Deſpair upon himſelf, and Confuſion and a horrible Conſternation upon his Army. 'Twas reſolv'd there-

therefore no longer to ſtay. But when the King's Servants ſent away their own Goods in quiet, and hindred others from doing ſo too, in great Fury they thronged and crouded to the Gates, ſeiz'd on the Guards and kill'd them; where *Doryalus* the Captain having nothing elſe beſides his Purple Garment, loſt his Life for the ſame, and *Hermæus* the Prieſt was trod under Foot in the Gate.

*Mithridates* having none of his Guards, or Attendance with him, got out of the Camp in the Throng, but had none of his Horſes with him. But *Ptolemy* the *Eunuch* looking back, and ſeeing him flying among the others, diſmounted, and gave his Horſe to the King. The *Romans* as they preſſed on, were juſt ready to take him, the cloſe Purſuit which they made reaching up juſt to him: But Greedineſs and Avarice hindred the *Romans* from acquiring that Booty, which in ſo many Fights and Hazards they had fought after, and hindred *Lucullus* from the Glory of Conqueſt. For the Horſe which carried the King was juſt ready to be ſeized, but one of the Mules that carried the Sumpter, either by Accident ſteping in, or by Order of the King, ſo appointed to go between him and the Purſuers, they ſeized and piffered the Gold, and

and falling out among themſelves about the Prey, let ſlip the great Prize. Neither was their Greedineſs prejudicial to *Lucullus* in this only, but alſo they ſlew *Calliſtratus* the King's Secretary, under Suſpicion of having five hundred pieces of Gold quilted up in his Cloaths, whom he had ordered to be convey'd ſafe into the Camp; notwithſtanding all which, he gave them leave to plunder the Camp. After this in *Cabira*, and other ſtrong Holds which he took, he found great Treaſures, and private Priſons wherein many *Greeks*, and many of the King's Relations had of old been confin'd: Who counting themſelves no other than dead Men, by the Favour of *Lucullus* met not only with Relief, but a new Life and Reſurrection: *Nyſſa*, Siſter of *Mithridates*, was made Captive by a bleſſed Captivity. But thoſe who ſeemed to be moſt out of Danger, Wives and Siſters at *Pharnacia*, placed in Safety as they thought, all miſerably periſhed by the coming back of *Bacchides* the *Eunuch*, from *Mithridates* to them. Among others there were two Siſters of the King, *Roxana* and *Statira*, Virgins of forty Years old: And two *Ionian* Wives, *Bernice* of *Chios*, and *Monime* of *Mileſium*. This latter was the moſt celebrated among the *Greeks*, becauſe ſhe ſo long withſtood the King in his Courtſhip

Courtſhip to her, when he preſented her with fifteen thouſand Pieces of Gold, until ſuch time as the Marriage was Conſummate, the Crown was ſent her, and ſhe was ſaluted Queen. She had been a ſorrowful Woman before, and often bewailed her Beauty, that had procured her a Keeper, inſtead of a Husband, and a watch of *Barbarians* inſtead of a Nuptial Houſe and Attendance. Being removed from *Greece*, ſhe enjoyed the Pleaſure which ſhe propoſed to her ſelf, only in a Dream, being in the mean time robb'd of that which is real. *Bacchides* came and bid them prepare for Death, as every one thought moſt agreeable and eaſie. She took the Diadem from her Head, and faſtning the String to her Neck, ſuſpended her ſelf therewith. Which being ſoon broke? "O curſed Head-band! ſaid ſhe, "Not at all able to help me in this ſmall "thing! And throwing it away ſhe ſpat on it, and gave her Neck to *Bacchides*. *Bernice* had prepared a Potion for her ſelf, but at her Mother's Intreaty, who ſtood by, ſhe gave her part of it: Both drank of the Potion, which prevailed over the weaker Body. But *Bernice* having drank too little was nothing changed, but being ſomething indiſpoſed was ſtrangled by *Bacchides* for haſte. 'Tis ſaid, that one of the

the unmarried Siſters with bitter Execrations and Curſes, drank the Poiſon: But *Statira* uttered nothing ungentile, or reproachful, but on the contrary commended her Brother, who in his own Danger neglected not theirs, but carefully provided that without Shame or Diſgrace, they might go out of the World.

*Lucullus* being a tender and good natur'd Man, was concern'd at theſe things: But however going on he came to *Talauri*, from whence, four Days before his Arrival, *Mithridates* fled, and was got to *Tigranes* in *Armenia*. Whereupon he took in the *Chaldeans* and *Tibarenians*, with the leſſer *Aſia*, and having placed Garriſons in their Cities, he ſent *Appius* to *Tigranes* to demand *Mithridates*. He himſelf went to *Amiſus*, which ſtill held out Siege under the Command of *Callimachus*, who by his great Skill and no leſs Experience in Tacktícks, as much as could be ſhewn in a Siege, incommoded the *Romans*. For which afterward he paid dear enough. For *Lucullus* unexpectedly coming upon him at the ſame time of the Day, when the Soldiers uſed to lye quiet and ſtill, gained part of the Wall, and forced him to leave the City; which he fired: Either envying the *Romans* the Booty, or at leaſt contriving his own Eſcape the better thereby.

thereby. No Man look'd after thoſe who went off, but as ſoon as the Fire had ſeized on moſt part of the Wall, the Soldiers prepared themſelves for Plunder; where *Lucullus* pitying the Ruins of the City, brought aſſiſtance from without, and encouraged his Men to extinguiſh the Flames. But all Men being intent upon the Prey, and giving no heed to him, with great ſhoutings brandiſhed their Weapons in the Air, whereupon he was compelled to let them plunder, that by that means at leaſt he might ſave the City from Fire. But they did quite contrary, for in ſearching the houſes with lights and torches, every where with them, they increaſed the flames; inſomuch that *Lucullus* the next day went in, and weeping ſaid to his Friends, that he had often before bleſſed the Fortune of *Sylla*, but never ſo much admired it as then, becauſe when he was willing, he was alſo able to ſave *Athens*; but my Infelicity is ſuch, that while I endeavour to imitate him, I become like *Mommius*. Nevertheleſs he endeavoured to ſave as much of the City as he could; and at the ſame time alſo by a lucky Providence, the Rain concurred to extinguiſh the Fire. He himſelf while preſent repaired the Ruins, as much as he could, receiving the Inhabitants who fled, and ſettling as many *Greeks* as were

willing to live there, adding a hundred and twenty Furlongs of Ground to the place.

This City was a Colony of *Athens* built at that time, when ſhe flouriſhed, and was powerful at Sea, upon which account thoſe who fled from *Ariſto*'s Tyranny, ſetled here, and were made free; but had the ill luck to fly from evils at home, into greater abroad. As many of theſe as ſurvived, *Lucullus* furniſhed every one with Clothes, and two hundred Groats, and ſent them away into their own Country; at which time *Tyrannio* the *Grammarian* was taken. *Murena* begg'd him of *Lucullus*, and took him, and ſet him free; but he abuſed *Lucullus*'s favour therein; for he by no means liked, that a Man of learning ſhould be firſt made a Slave, then free; for Freedom thus ſpeciouſly granted again, was a real deprivation of what he had before. But not in this caſe alone *Murena* ſhew'd himſelf far inferior in Generoſity to the General: *Lucullus* was now buſy in looking after the Affairs of *Aſia*, and having no War to divert his time, ſpent it in the diſtribution of Juſtice, which by the continuance of diſmal Troubles and Revolutions, had been for a long time a Stranger in the Province; which was then alſo miſerably oppreſſed, and enſlaved by Publicans and

and Uſurpers, inſomuch that they were forced privately to ſell their Sons in the flower of their Youth, and their Daughters in their Virginity; and their Conſecrated Gifts, Pictures, and holy Images in the open Market, and in the end to yield up themſelves Slaves to their Creditors; before which worſer Troubles lay upon them, which were, Tortures, Impriſonments, Racks, ſtanding abroad to be ſcorched, when the Sun was near; and confin'd to ſtand in Ice and Clay, in the cold; inſomuch that Slavery was no leſs than Redemption, and joy to them. *Lucullus* in a ſhort time freed the Cities from all theſe Evils and Oppreſſions, for firſt of all he ordered there ſhould be no more taken than one *per Cent.* Secondly, where the Uſe was greater than the Principal, it ſhould wholly be aboliſhed; the Third, and moſt conſiderable Order was, that the Creditor ſhould receive the fourth part of the Debtor's Income; but if Mens Perſons were engaged it was utterly diſallowed; inſomuch that in the ſpace of four Years all debts were paid, and lands returned to their right Owners. The publick Debt was contracted when *Aſia* was fin'd twenty thouſand Talents by *Sylla*, but twice as much was paid to the Collectors, who by Uſe, and Intereſt, had at laſt advanced it to a

hundred and twenty thouſand Talents. Whereupon they inveighed againſt *Lucullus* at *Rome*, as injured by him, and by their Wealth, and Credit, which they had over many of the Principal Officers, they ſtirr'd up ſeveral leading Men againſt him. But *Lucullus* was not only beloved by thoſe People whom he obliged, but was alſo wiſhed for by other Provinces, who bleſſed the good luck of thoſe, who had ſuch a Governor over them.

*Appius Clodius*, who was ſent to *Tigranes* (the ſame *Clodius* was Brother to *Lucullus*'s Wife) being led by the King's Guides in an unneceſſary and tedious Way, over the Mountains, through many Windings and Turnings, being better informed by his Free-man, a *Syrian* by Nation, of the direct Road, left that long and fallacious one; and kindly bidding the *Barbarians* his Guides adieu, in a few days paſſed over *Euphrates*, and came to *Antiochia* upon *Daphne*. There being commanded to wait for *Tigranes*, (who at that time was reducing of *Phænicia*,) he brought over many great Men to his ſide, who unwillingly had ſubmitted to the King of *Armenia* (among whom was *Zarbienus* King of the *Gordyenians*) where alſo many of the Conquered Cities correſponded privately with him, whom he aſſured of Relief

Relief from *Lucullus*, but ordered them to lie ſtill at preſent. The *Armenian* Government was very heavy, and intollerable to the *Greeks*, eſpecially that of the preſent King, who growing inſolent and proud with his Succeſs, imagined all things valuable and eſteem'd among Men, that had been already in his Power, and purpoſely created for him alone. From a ſmall and inconſiderable riſe, he had Conquered many Nations, broke the *Parthian* Power (more than any before him) and filled *Meſopotamia* with *Greeks*, whom he carried out of *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*. He tranſplanted the Wild *Arabs* from their Country, and manner of living, and ſettled them near him, for Improvement of Trade.

Many Kings ſerv'd at his Table, but four he always carried with him as Servants and Guards, who ran by his Horſe ſide in poor habit, and with folded hands attended him, when ſitting on his Throne, and publiſhing his Decrees to the People: Which Poſture of all others was that which moſt expreſſed Slavery, it being of Men who had bid adieu to Liberty, and had prepared their Bodies more for the Chaſtiſement, than Service of their Maſters. *Appius* being nothing diſmayed, or ſurprized at ſo Tragical a Sight, ſo ſoon as Audience was granted him, ſaid, he came to demand

*Mithridates*, due to *Lucullus*'s Triumph, otherwiſe to denounce War againſt *Tigranes*: Inſomuch that tho' *Tigranes* endeavoured to receive him with a pleaſing Countenance, and a compoſed Smile, he could not diſſemble his concern to them who ſtood about him, at the frank humour of the young Man; for it was the firſt time in twenty five Years any free Speech had been uttered to him, ſo many Years had he then reigned. But however he made anſwer to *Appius*, That he would not deſert *Mithridates*, but would make the *Romans* pay dear enough for beginning the War: That he was angry with *Lucullus* for calling him only King in his Letter, and not King of Kings, and therefore in his Anſwer he would not call him *Imperator*. Great Gifts were ſent to *Appius*, which he refuſed; but they being augmented, that he might not ſeem to go away in Anger, he took one Goblet and ſent the reſt back, and went off to the General. *Tigranes* before this neither vouchſafed to ſee nor ſpeak with *Mithridates*, tho' a near Kinſman, and forced out of ſo conſiderable a Kingdom; but proudly and ſcornfully at a diſtance contemned him, and in a manner ſecured him in Mooriſh and unhealthy Places; but then with Reſpect and Kindneſs ſent for him, and at a private

private Conference between them in the Palace, they healed up all private Jealouſies between them, puniſhing their Favourites, who bore all the blame: Among whom *Metrodorus Scepſius* was one, a witty and learned Man, and a boſom Friend, vulgarly called the King's Father. "This Man, "as it happen'd, being employed in an "Embaſſy by *Mithridates* to ſollicit help "againſt the *Romans*, *Tigranes* ask'd him, "what would you *Metrodorus* adviſe me "to in this Affair? In return to which, ei-"ther out of good Will to *Tigranes*, or of "deſire to have *Mithridates* taken off, made "Anſwer, that as Ambaſſador he counſell'd "him to it, but as a Friend diſſwaded him "from it. This *Tigranes* reported, and affirmed to *Mithridates*, thinking that no harm would come of it to *Metrodorus*. But upon this he was preſently taken off, for which *Tigranes* was ſorry, being not indeed the principal cauſe of *Metrodorus*'s Death, but no ſmall addition to the Anger of *Mithridates* againſt him; for he privately hated him before, as appeared from his Cabinet-Papers when taken, wherein it was ordered that *Metrodorus* ſhould die; *Tigranes* buried him ſplendidly, ſparing no coſt to his dead Body, whom he betrayed when alive. In *Tigranes*'s Court died alſo *Amphicrates* the Orator, (if at leaſt for

*Athens* ſake, we may remember him,) for 'tis reported that he fled to *Seleucia*, upon the River *Tigris*, and being deſir'd to teach Philoſophy among them, Arrogantly replyed, that the Diſh was too little to hold a Dolphin. Wherefore he came to *Cleopatra*, Daughter of *Mithridates*, and Queen to *Tigranes*, but being accuſed of high Miſdemeanors, and prohibited all Commerce with his Country-Men, ſoon ended his Days.

*Lucullus*, when he had eſtabliſhed wholeſome Laws, and a laſting Peace in *Aſia*, did not altogether baniſh Pleaſure, and Mirth; but during his Reſidence at *Epheſus*, gratified the Country with Sports, Feſtival Triumphs, Wreſtling Games, and Prizes. And they in requital, inſtituted others, called *Lucullian Games*, in honour to him, thereby manifeſting their real Love to him, which was of more Value to him, than all the Honour in the World. But when *Appius* came to him, and told him he muſt prepare for War, he went again into *Pontus*, and gathering together his Army, beſieged *Synope*, or rather thoſe of the King's ſide who held it; who thereupon killed moſt of the *Synopeans*, and ſet the City on fire, and by Night endeavoured to eſcape: which when *Lucullus* perceived, he came upon the City, and killed

killed eight thouſand of thoſe who were left behind; but to the others he reſtored what was their own, and took ſpecial care for the Welfare of the City. To which he was chiefly prompted by this Viſion. One ſeemed to come to him in his Sleep, and ſay, Go on a little further, *Lucullus*; for *Autolicus* in coming to ſee Thee. When he aroſe, he could not imagine what the Viſion meant. The ſame Day he took the City, and as he was purſuing the *Cilicians*, who were fled, he ſaw a Statue lying on the Shore, which the *Cilicians* carried ſo far, but had not time to carry it aboard. It was one of the Maſter-pieces of *Sthenis*: And one told him, that it was the Statue of *Autolicus*, the Founder of the City. Which ſame *Autolicus* is reported to be Son to *Deimachus*, and one of thoſe who under *Hercules* went in the Expedition out of *Theſſaly* againſt the *Amazons*; from whence in his return with *Demoleon* and *Phlogius*, he loſt his Veſſel on a point of the *Cherſoneſus*, called *Pedalion*. He himſelf, with his Companions, and their Weapons, being ſaved, came to *Synope*, and diſpoſſeſt the *Syrians* there. The *Syrians* held it, deſcended from *Syrus*, (as is reported) the Son of *Apollo*, and *Synope* the Daughter of *Aſopis*. Which as ſoon as *Lucullus* heard, he remembred the Saying

Saying of *Sylla*, who positively affirms in his Memoirs, that nothing is so credible, and beyond dispute, as what is revealed in Dreams.

But as soon as it was told him that *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* were just ready to transport their Forces into *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*, he much wondred why the *Armenian*, if he had any real Intention to fight with the *Romans*, did not assist *Mithridates* in his flourishing Condition, and join Forces when he was fit for Service; but suffering him to be vanquish'd, and broke in pieces, should now at last upon slender hopes begin the War, and throw himself down headlong with them, who were irrecoverably fall'n already. But when *Machares* the Son of *Mithridates*, and Governor of the *Bosphorus*, sent him a Crown valued at a Thousand Pieces of Gold, and desired to be listed a Friend and Confederate of the *Romans*, he justly reputed that War at an end, and left *Sornatius* his Deputy with Six thousand Soldiers to take care of the Province. He himself with Twelve thousand Foot, and little less than Three thousand Horse, advanced to the second War. But it was very plain, that with too great and ill advised speed he marched against warlike Nations, many thousands of Horse, into a vast

vaſt Champaign, every way encloſed with deep Rivers, and ſnowy Mountains. Which made the Soldiers, beſides the Diſorder of their Ranks, with great unwillingneſs and reluctancy follow him. When as at the ſame time alſo the Tribunes at home publickly inveighed and declared againſt him, as one that raiſed up War after War, not ſo much for the Intereſt of the Republick, as that he himſelf being ſtill in Commiſſion might not lay down Arms, but go on enriching himſelf by the publick Loſs. Theſe Men at laſt were even with him. But *Lucullus* by long Journeys came to *Euphrates*, where finding the Waters out, and rough, by reaſon of the late Winter, was much troubled for fear of a Delay, where Danger might come on him, while he procured Boats, and made a Bridge of them. But in the Evening the Flood giving, and decreaſing more in the Night, the next Day they ſaw the River within his Banks: Inſomuch that the Inhabitants diſcovering the little Iſlands in the River, and the Water ſtagnating round them, a thing which had rarely happened before, worſhipped *Lucullus*, before whom the very River was humble and ſubmiſſive, and yielded an eaſie and ſwift Paſſage. Making uſe of the Opportunity, he carried over his Army, and met with a lucky Sign at landing.

landing. Holy Heifers are preſerved on purpoſe for *Diana Perſica*, whom of all the Gods the *Barbarians* beyond *Euphrates* chiefly adore. They uſe only Heifers for her Sacrifices. Which at other times wander up and down undiſturbed, with the Mark of the Goddeſs upon them, *Shining Brightneſs*; and it is no ſmall, nor eaſie thing, when Occaſion requires, to ſeize one of them. But one of theſe, when the Army had paſſed *Euphrates*, coming to a Rock Conſecrate to the Goddeſs, ſtood upon it, and then laying down her Neck, like others that are forced down with a Rope, offered her ſelf to *Lucullus* for Sacrifice: Beſides which he offered alſo a Congratulatory Bull to *Euphrates* for his ſafe Paſſage. All that Day he tarried there, but on the next, and thoſe that followed, he travelled through *Sophene*, uſing no manner of Violence to thoſe who came to him, and willingly received his Army. But when the Soldiers were deſirous to Plunder a Caſtle, that ſeemed to be well ſtored within; *That is the Caſtle*, ſaid he, *that we muſt Storm*, ſhewing them *Taurus* at a diſtance, *there are the Rewards of Triumph*: Wherefore haſtning his March, and paſſing the *Tigris*, he came over into *Armenia*. The firſt Meſſenger that gave notice of *Lucullus* his coming, was ſo far from pleaſing

Λαμπάδα.

*Tigranes*,

*Tigranes* that he had his Head cut off for his pains; and no Man daring to bring farther Information, without any Intelligence at all, *Tigranes* ſate fuming with Hoſtility and Wrath, giving Ear only to whoſe who flattered him, by ſaying that *Lucullus* would ſhew himſelf a greater Commander, by ſtanding before *Tigranes* at *Epheſus*, than by his running away out of *Aſia*, frighted with the many thouſands that come againſt him. "He is a Man of a ſtrong "Body that can carry off a load of Wine, and "of a ſingular Conſtitution that can digeſt "Felicity. *Mithrobarzanes*, one of his chief Favourites, firſt dar'd to tell him the truth: But had no more thanks for his Pains, than to be immediately ſent out againſt *Lucullus* with three thouſand Horſe, and a great number of Foot, with peremptory Commands to bring him alive, and trample down his Army. Some of *Lucullus*'s Men were then pitching their Camp, and the reſt were coming up to them, when the Scouts gave notice that the Enemy was approaching, whereupon he was in fear leſt they ſhould fall upon him, while his Men were at a diſtance, and not come up into a Body: Which made him ſtay for ſetling the Camp himſelf; and ſend out *Sextilius* the Legate with Sixteen hundred Horſe, and almoſt as many heavy and light Arms, with

Orders

Orders to advance upon the Enemy, and keep their ground, until Intelligence came to him that the Camp was finiſhed. *Sextilius* deſign'd to have kept this Order; but *Mithrobarzanes* coming furiouſly upon him, he was forced to fight. In the Engagement *Mithrobarzanes* himſelf fighting was ſlain, and all his Men, except a few who run away, were deſtroy'd. After which *Tigranes* left *Tigranocerta*, a great City built by himſelf, and retir'd to *Taurus*, and called all his Forces about him.

But *Lucullus* giving him no time to Rendezvouz, ſent out *Murena* to hinder, and cut off thoſe who march'd to *Tigranes*, and *Sextilius* alſo to diſperſe a great Company of *Arabians* then going to the King; both *Sextilius* fell upon the *Arabians* in their Camp, and deſtroyed moſt of them; and alſo *Murena* in his Purſuit after *Tigranes* through a craggy and narrow Way, opportunely fell upon him: Upon which *Tigranes*, throwing away all Cumbrances, fled, many of the *Armenians* were killed, and more taken. After this Succeſs *Lucullus* went to *Tigranocerta*, and ſetting down before the City beſieged it. In it were many *Greeks* carried away out of *Cilicia*, and many *Barbarians* in like Circumſtances with the *Greeks*, *Araberrians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Gordyenians*, and *Cappadocians*, whoſe

whoſe Countries he had deſtroyed, and forced away the Inhabitants to ſettle here. It was a rich and beautiful City; every Nobleman and Commoner, in Imitation of the King, ſtudied to enlarge and adorn it. Which made *Lucullus* more vigorouſly Aſſault it, being perſwaded that *Tigranes* would by no means ſuffer him, but even againſt his own Judgment come down in Anger to force him away; wherein he rightly judged. *Mithridates* earneſtly diſſwaded him from it, ſending Meſſengers to him not to engage, but rather with his Horſe to hinder him from Foraging. *Taxiles* alſo the Meſſenger, then in his Army, very much intreated the King to forbear and avoid the *Roman* Forces, as a Buſineſs not to be medled with at that time. To this he hearkened at firſt, but when the *Armenians* and *Gordyenians* in a full Body, and the joint Forces of *Medes* and *Adiabenians* under their reſpective Kings came up to him: When many *Arabians* came up the River from *Babylon*, others from the *Caſpian* Sea, *Albanians*, *Iberians* and their Neighbours, and not a few of the ungovernable People near *Araxe*, by intreaty and hire, came together up to him; all the Kings Tables and Councils rung of nothing but Expectations, Boaſtings, and barbarick Threatnings. *Taxiles* went in danger

danger of his Life for giving Counſel againſt Fighting; and it was imputed to Envy in *Mithridates*, to diveſt him from ſo Glorious an Enterprize: Whereupon *Tigranes* would by no means tarry for him, for fear he ſhould ſhare in the Glory; but marched on with all his Army, lamenting to his Friends, (as is ſaid) that he ſhould fight with *Lucullus* alone, and not with all the *Roman* Generals together. Neither was his Boldneſs to be accounted Frantick or Raſh, when he had ſo many Nations and Kings attending him, with ſo many Thouſand of well armed Foot and Horſe about him. He had Twenty thouſand Archers and Slingers, Fifty five thouſand Horſe (whereof Fifteen thouſand were all in Armour, as *Lucullus* wrote to the Senate) a Hundred and fifty thouſand heavy Arms drawn up partly into Companies, partly into *Phalanges*; beſides others appointed to open the Ways, and lay Bridges to drein the Waters, and prepare Fuel, with other neceſſary Attendance to the number of Thirty five thouſand; who being quartered behind the Army, made it the more formidable to behold. As ſoon as he had paſſed *Taurus*, and appear'd with his Forces, and ſaw the *Romans* beleaguering *Tigranocerta*, the barbarous People within with Shoutings and Acclamations received the

the ſight, and threating the *Romans* from the Wall, pointed to the *Armenians*. In a Council of War, ſome adviſed *Lucullus* to leave the Siege, and march up to *Tigranes*, others, that it would not be ſafe to leave the Siege, and ſo many Enemies behind. He himſelf anſwered that neither ſide rightly, but both together gave ſound Advice; whereupon he divided his Army and left *Murena*, with ſix thouſand Foot, the Charge of the Siege, he himſelf went out with twenty four Bands, in which were no leſs than ten thouſand Men at Arms, all the Horſe, and about a thouſand Slingers and Archers, and ſetting down by a River in a large Plain, appeared very inconſiderable to *Tigranes*, and a fit Subject for the flattering Wits about him. Some whereof jeared, others caſt Lots for the Spoil, every one of the Kings and Commanders came, and deſired the Engagement alone, and that he would be pleaſed to ſit ſtill and behold. *Tigranes* himſelf ſomething Witty and Pleaſant upon the occaſion, made uſe of the old Saying, That they were too many for Ambaſſadors, and too few for Soldiers. Thus they continued laughing and ſcoffing. As ſoon as day came, *Lucullus* brought out his Forces in their Arms. The *Barbarian* Army ſtood at the Eaſtern part of the River, but *Lucullus* at the Weſt, and at a

turn of the River where it was beſt paſſable, while he led his Army in haſte, ſeemed to *Tigranes* to fly. Who thereupon called *Taxiles*, and in deriſion ſaid, "Do you not ſee this invincible Army of "the *Romans* flying? But *Taxiles* reply'd, "I would to God, O King, ſome ſuch For-"tune may attend your Soul! But ſurely "Travellers never put on their beſt Cloaths, "nor uſe bright Shields, and naked Head-"pieces, and unſheathed Weapons, as now "you ſee; but this is a preparation for "War, and of Men juſt ready to engage "with their Enemies. While *Taxiles* was thus ſpeaking, as *Lucullus* wheeled about, the firſt Eagle appeared, and the Bands according to their Diviſions and Companies, were juſt ready to paſs over, when with much ado, and like a Man in a Debauch, *Tigranes* cryed out twice or thrice; *What, are you coming upon us, Sirs?* In great haſte therefore he put his Army in array, keeping the main Body to himſelf, the left Wing was given in Charge to the *Adiabenian*, and the right to the *Mede*, in the Front whereof were moſt of the Armed Men placed. Some Officers adviſed *Lucullus* to lye ſtill that day, being one of thoſe unfortunate ones, whom they call Black-days, for therein the Army under *Scipio*, engaging with the *Cimbrians*, was deſtroy-

ed:

ed: But he by a very memorable Saying replyed, *I will make this a happy Day to the* Romans. It was the day before the *Nones* of *October*. Having ſo ſaid, he bade them Courage, paſſed over the River, and himſelf firſt of all led them againſt the Enemy; a Coat of Male, with ſhining Skales he had on, and a Fringed Mantle; and drew out his naked Sword, as if they had been to engage with Men that uſed to fight at a diſtance, and by a ſudden falling in, he ſtraitned the open places, which were neceſſary for the Archers. But when he ſaw the armed Horſe, the Flower of the Army, drawn up under a Hill, on the top whereof was a broad and open Plain, about four Furlongs high, and of no difficult or troubleſome acceſs, he commanded his *Thracian* and *Gallogrecian* Horſe to fall upon their Flank, and beat down their Lances with their Swords. (The only defence of the Men in Arms are their Lances, they have nothing elſe to defend themſelves, or annoy their Enemy, by reaſon of the weight and hardneſs of their Armour, in which they are encloſed.) He himſelf with two Bands made to the Mountain, the Soldiers briskly following on, when they ſaw him in Arms afoot firſt toyling and climbing up. Being on the top, and ſtanding in an open place with a loud Voice he

cryed out; *We have overcome*! *We have overcome, O my Fellow-Soldiers*! And having ſo ſaid, he marched againſt the Armed Horſemen, commanding his Men not to throw their Piles, but coming up hand to hand with the Enemy, to hack their Shins and Thighs, which Parts alone are unguarded in Armed Men. But there was no need of this way of fighting, for they ſtood not to receive the *Romans*, but with great Clamour and worſe flight they and their heavy Horſes, broke the Ranks of the Foot, before ever the fight began. Inſomuch that without a Wound or Bloodſhed, ſo many Thouſands were overthrown: The greateſt Slaughter was made in the flight, or rather, in endeavouring to fly away, which they could not well do by reaſon of the depth and cloſeneſs of the Ranks which hindred them. *Tigranes* at firſt fled with a few, but ſeeing his Son in the ſame misfortune, he took the Crown from his Head, and with Tears gave it him, bidding him ſave himſelf in ſome other way if he could. But the Prince daring not to put it on, gave it one of his truſtieſt Servants to keep for him: This Man as it hapned being taken was brought to *Lucullus*, ſo among the Captives the Crown alſo of *Tigranes* was taken. 'Tis reported that above a hundred Thouſand Foot

Foot were loſt, and few of the Horſe eſcaped. Of the *Romans* a hundred were wounded, and five kill'd. *Antiochus* the Philoſopher making mention of this Fight, in his Book about the Gods, ſays, That the Sun never ſaw the like. *Strabo* another Philoſopher in his Hiſtorical Collection, ſays, That the *Romans* could not but bluſh, and deride themſelves, for putting on Armour againſt ſuch pitiful Slaves. *Livie* alſo ſays, That the *Romans* never fell upon an Enemy with ſo unequal force, for by more than a twentieth part, the Conquerors were leſs than the Conquered.

The moſt underſtanding *Roman* Captains, and expert in War, have chiefly commended *Lucullus* for Conquering two great and potent Kings, by two different ways, Haſte and Delay. For he broke the flouriſhing Power of *Mithridates* by Delay and Time; and that of *Tigranes* by Haſte: Being one of thoſe rare Generals, who made uſe of Delay for Advantage, and Speed for Security. Whereupon it was, that *Mithridates* made no haſte to come up to fight, imagining *Lucullus* would, as he had done before, uſe Caution and Delay, which made him march the ſlower to *Tigranes*. And as he met ſome ſtragling *Armenians* in the way, running in great Fear and Conſternation, he ſuſpected the worſt; and when

great numbers of naked and wounded Men assured him of the Defeat, he sought for *Tigranes*. And finding him naked and destitute, he by no means requited him with Insolence, but lighting off his Horse, and condoling the publick loss, gave him a Princely Guard to attend him, and animated him for the Future. And they together gathered fresh Forces about them. In the City *Tigranocerta*, the *Greeks* divided from the *Barbarians*, and delivered it up to *Lucullus*, which he came and took. He seized on the Treasury himself, but gave the City to be plundered by the Soldiers, wherein were found eight thousand Talents of coyned Mony. Besides which, also he distributed eight hundred Groats *per* Man, out of the Spoils. When he understood that many Players were taken in the City, which *Tigranes* invited from all parts, for opening the Theatre which he had built, he made use of them for celebrating his Triumphal Games and Spectacles. The *Greeks* he sent home, allowing them Mony for their Journey, the *Barbarians* also, as many as had been forced away from their own dwelling; insomuch that this one City being dissolved, many were repaired by the restitution of their former Inhabitants. By all which *Lucullus* was belov'd as a Benefactor and Founder. Other

ther things alſo proſpered under him, as he deſerved, being more deſirous of Praiſe for Juſtice and Clemency, than for Feats in War; for theſe are due partly to the Soldiers, moſt of all to *Fortune*, but thoſe are a Demonſtration of a gentle and liberal Soul, whereby *Lucullus* at that time, even without the help of Arms, conquered the *Barbarians*. For the Kings of *Arabia* came to him, tendring what they had, and with them the *Sophenians* alſo ſubmitted. But he dealt ſo with the *Gordyenians*, that they were willing to leave their own Habitations, and were ready to follow him with their Wives and Children. Which was for this Cauſe. *Zarbienus* King of the *Gordyenians* (as is ſaid) being grieved under the Tyranny of *Tigranes*, by *Appius* had ſecretly made Overtures of Confederating with *Lucullus*, but being diſcovered, was executed, and his Wife and Children periſhed with him, before ever the *Romans* had invaded *Armenia*. *Lucullus* forgot not this, but coming to the *Gordyenians* made a ſolemn Enterment for *Zarbienus*, and adorning the Funeral Pile with a Royal Canopy, and Gold and Spoils of *Tigranes*, he himſelf being preſent, kindled the Fire, and poured in Perfumes, with the Friends and Domeſticks of the Deceaſed, calling him his Companion, and Friend of the *Romans*,

and ordered a ſtately Monument for him. There was a large Treaſury of Gold, and Silver found in *Zarbienus* his Palace; and no leſs than *three hundred Myriads* of *Meaſures* of Corn, inſomuch that the Soldiers were provided for, and *Lucullus* was highly commended for maintaining the War at its own Charge, without receiving one Groat from the Publick Treaſury.

3000000 Μεδίμνων *More than a Buſhel.*

After this came an Embaſſage from the King of *Parthia* to him, deſiring Amity and Confederacy; which being readily embraced by *Lucullus*, he diſpatch'd another to the *Parthian*, which diſcovered him to be a double-minded Man, and dealing privately with *Tigranes* to take part with him, upon Condition *Meſopotamia* were delivered up to him. Which as ſoon as *Lucullus* underſtood, he reſolved to paſs by *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, as Enemies well nigh ſubdued, and try the Power of *Parthia*, by leading his Army againſt them. He eſteemed it a renowned Act like a Wreſtler, to throw down three Kings one after another, and like an invincible Conqueror, ſucceſſively to deal with three of the greateſt Commanders under the Cope of Heaven. He ſent therefore into *Pontus* to the Officers with *Sornatius*, writing to them to bring the Army thence,

and

and joyn with him in his Expedition out of *Gordyene*. They found the Soldiers reſty and ſtubborn before, but now plainly diſcovered their unrulineſs, by no manner of Intreaty, or Force to be reclaimed; for they proteſted and cryed out, That they would ſtay no longer there, but go away and deſert *Pontus*. Which being reported to *Lucullus*, did no ſmall harm to the Soldiers about him, who were corrupted with Wealth and Plenty, and deſirous of Eaſe: And hearing the boldneſs of the others, called them Men, and ſuch as they ought to imitate; for the Actions which had done, did not well deſerve Reſt and they Quiet. Upon theſe and worſe Words *Lucullus* left off the thoughts of invading *Parthia*, and in the midſt of Summer went againſt *Tigranes*. Where paſſing over *Taurus* he was aſtoniſhed at the green Fields before him, ſo much the Seaſon by reaſon of the cold Air is deferred. But however he went down, and putting to flight the *Armenians*, who dared to come out againſt him, he plundered and burnt the Villages, and ſeizing on the Proviſion deſigned for *Tigranes*, who was afraid of the ſame, reduced his Enemies to great neceſſity. But when he provok'd the Enemy to fight, by marching round their Camp and burning the Country before them,

them, he could by no means bring them out after their frequent Defeats before, he roſe up and marched to *Artaxata* the Royal City of *Tigranes*, where his Wives and Children were kept: Judging that *Tigranes* would never ſuffer that to go without the hazard of a Battel. It is reported that *Annibal* the famous *Carthaginian*, after the defeat of *Antiochus* under the *Romans*, coming to *Artaxas*, King of *Armenia*, inſtructed him in ſeveral neceſſary and uſeful things. Who being taken with the pleaſant and delightful Situation of that place, then uncultivated and neglected, drew a Model of a City for the ſame: And bringing *Artaxas* thither, ſhewed him the ſame, and encouraged him to build. At which the King being pleaſed, and deſiring him to over-ſee the work, erected a large and ſtately City, called after his own Name, and made *Metropolis* of *Armenia*.

*Tigranes* would by no means ſuffer *Lucullus* to come upon this City, but came with his Army, and on the fourth day ſate down by the *Romans*, the River *Arſania* lying between them, which of neceſſity *Lucullus* muſt paſs in his march to *Artaxa*. *Lucullus* after Sacrifice to the Gods, as if Victory were already obtained, carried over his Army, having twelve Bands

Bands in Front, the reſt being diſpoſed to prevent the Enemies encloſing them. For there were many choice Horſe drawn up againſt him; in the Front ſtood the *Mardians* Horſe-Archers, and *Iberians* with long Spears, who being the moſt Warlike, *Tigranes* more confided in, than any other Strangers. But nothing of Moment was done by them, for though they Skirmiſhed with the *Roman* Horſe at a diſtance, they were not able to ſtand when the Foot came up to them; but being broken and divided on both ſides, drew the Horſe in purſuit after them. Though theſe were Routed, yet *Lucullus* was afraid when he ſaw the Horſe about *Tigranes* in good Order, and great Numbers coming upon him: Whereupon he recalled his Horſe from purſuing, he himſelf firſt of all withſtood the Nobles, and engaged with the beſt of them, as they came upon him, and before ever they came to cloſe Fight, with the very Terror overthrew them. Of three Kings in Battel againſt him, *Mithridates* of *Pontus* fled away the moſt ſhamefully, being not ſo much as able to endure the noiſe of the *Romans*. The Purſuit reach'd a long way, wherein the *Romans* not only ſlew them all Night, but took many alive, ſeized and carried away great Riches with other Booty,

Booty, 'till they were weary and left off. *Livie* ſays, There were more taken and deſtroyed in the firſt Battel; but in the ſecond thoſe of better Note. *Lucullus* being fluſh'd and animated hereby, determined to March into the Uplands, and there compleat his Conqueſts over the *Barbarians*; but the Winter Seaſon coming on, contrary to his Expectation, brought ſevere Weather, and frequent Snows, and even in the moſt clear Days, hard Froſt and Ice; which made the Waters ſcarce drinkable for the Horſes by exceeding Cold, and ſcarce paſſable for the breaking of the Ice, and cutting the Horſes Sinews. The Country for the moſt part being Foreſt, Incloſed and Woody, made them continually Wet, being covered with Snow as they march'd in the Day, and ſitting down in Mooriſh Places at Night. After the Battel they followed not *Lucullus* many Days before they began to be unruly; firſt of all intreating, and ſending the Tribunes to him, but afterwards tumultuouſly gathered together, and made a noiſe all Night long, which was a plain ſign of a mutinous Army. But *Lucullus* as earneſtly entreated them, deſiring them to have Patience but 'till they took the *Armenian Carthage*, and overturn'd the Work of that curſed Man *Annibal*. But when

when he could not prevail, he led them back, and by another Road over *Taurus*, came into the fruitful and pleaſant Country of *Mygdonia*, where was a great and populous City, by the *Barbarians* called *Niſibis*, by the *Greeks Antioch* of *Mygdonia*. *Gaurus* Brother of *Tigranes* was the Governor, *Callimachus* Overſeer of the Works and Fortifications, the ſame who ſo much annoyed the *Romans* at *Amiſus*. He brought his Army to it, and laying cloſe Siege in a ſhort time took it by ſtorm: He kindly uſed *Gaurus* as he ſurrendred himſelf, but by no means hearkened to *Callimachus*, though he offered to make diſcovery of hidden Treaſures; Commanded him to be kept in Chains, to be puniſhed for firing the City of *Amiſus*, which hindred him from ſhewing Favour and Kindneſs to the *Greeks*, as he intended.

Hitherto one would imagine Fortune attended, and fought for *Lucullus*; but afterward, as if the Wind had fail'd of a ſudden, he did all things by Force, and as it were againſt the Grain; wherein he ſhewed the Conduct and Patience of a wiſe Captain, but his Actions met with no Honour or Reputation: For by bad Succeſs and Diviſions in his Army, he came within a Hairs breadth of loſing what he had before.

before. Himſelf was not the leaſt Cauſe of all this, being no ways indulgent to his Soldiers, but one who thought all Favour ſhewn to them, to be a beginning of Diſobedience and Diſſolution of Authority. But what was worſt of all, he was naturally unſociable to his great Officers in Commiſſion with him, deſpiſing others, and thinking them worthy of nothing in compariſon with himſelf. Theſe were the Evils attending *Lucullus* his other Virtues; for he is ſaid to have been a Luſty, Goodly and Eloquent Man, wiſe both in Court and Camp. *Salluſt* ſays, The Soldiers were ill affected to him from the beginning of the War, for being forced to keep the Field two Winters at *Cyzicum*, and afterwards at *Amiſus*. There were other Winter Quarters that vexed beſides theſe, for they either were in an Enemies Country, or elſe confined to their Tents in the open Fields among their Confederates, for *Lucullus* not ſo much as once went into a *Greek* Confederate Town with his Army. To this ill Affection abroad, the Tribunes contributed at home, inviduouſly accuſing *Lucullus*, as one who for Empire and Riches delayed the War, and under his ſole Power had then got *Cilicia*, *Aſia*, *Bythinia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Pontus*, *Armenia*, as far as the River *Phaſis*. And

of

of late had laid waſte the Kingdom of *Tigranes*, as if he had been Commiſſioned not ſo much to ſubdue, as deſtroy Kings. For this is reported to have been ſpoken by *L. Quintus*, one of the *Prætors*, at whoſe inſtance the People determined to ſend one who ſhould ſucceed *Lucullus* in his Province, and disband moſt of his Army. Beſides theſe Miſdemeanours, that which moſt of all prejudiced *Lucullus* was *P. Clodius* an Inſolent Man, very vicious and bold, Brother to *Lucullus* his Wife, and by reaſon of her Incontinency ſhrewdly ſuſpected of Adultery with her. Being then in the Army under *Lucullus*, but not in ſo great Authority as he expected, for he would fain have been of the chief Officers, though of *an inferior Rank* to ſeveral of them: He got in with the *Fimbrian* Army, and ſtirred them up againſt *Lucullus*, uſing fair Speeches to them, who of Old had been uſed to be flattered in ſuch a manner. Theſe were thoſe, whom *Fimbrius* before had perſwaded to deſtroy the Conſul *Flaccus*, and choſe him their Leader; which made them willingly deal with *Clodius*, and call him the *Soldiers delight*, for his Care and Concern for them. "If there muſt be no end of War and "Toyls, but by fighting with all Na-"tions, and wandring throughout all the "World

Διὰ τὸν τέγγοι.

Φιλοστρατιώτην.

" World they muſt ſpend their Lives: " receiving no other Reward for their " Service, than to guard the Carriages " and Camels of *Lucullus*, laden with Gold " and precious Goblets. As for *Pompey*'s " Soldiers, they were Citizens again, ſafe " at Home with their Wives and Chil- " dren, not hunting after *Mithridates*, " or *Tigranes* in wild Deſarts, nor over- " turning the Kingdoms of *Aſia*, but re- " ducing Exiles in *Spain*, or Fugitives at " Home. What, muſt we never have an " end of Fighting? Should we not rather " reſerve the remainder of our Bodies and " Souls for ſuch a General, who will reck- " on his chiefeſt Glory to be the Wealth of " his Army?

By ſuch Practices the Army of *Lucullus* being corrupted, neither followed him againſt *Tigranes*, nor againſt *Mithridates*, when he returned into *Pontus* out of *Armenia*, and reſumed his Kingdom, but under pretence of Winter coming on, ſate Idle in *Gordyene*, every Minute expecting ſome other General to ſucceed *Lucullus*. But when News came that *Mithridates* had defeated *Fabius*, and was marching againſt *Sernatius* and *Triarius*, out of ſhame they followed *Lucullus*. *Triarius* ambitiouſly aiming at Victory, before ever *Lucullus* came to him, though he was then very

very near, was overthrown after a bloody Fight; wherein it is reported that above ſeven Thouſand *Romans* fell, among whom were a hundred and fifty Centurions, and four and twenty Tribunes, and even the Camp it ſelf taken. *Lucullus* coming up a few days after, concealed *Triarius* from the angry Soldiers. But when *Mithridates* declined Battel, and waited for the coming of *Tigranes*, who was then on his March with great Forces, he reſolved before both joyned, once more to meet and engage with *Tigranes*. But in the way the mutinous *Fimbrians*, deſerted their Colours, as Men disbanded by Decree of Senate, and would no longer obey *Lucullus*, the Provinces being then allotted to others. There was nothing beneath the Dignity of *Lucullus*, which he was not forc'd to bear, intreating them one by one, from Tent to Tent, going up and down dejected and ſorrowful, and ſubmitting to ſhake ſome by the Hands. But they turned away from his Salutes, and threw down their empty Knap-Sacks, bidding him alone engage with the Enemy, who alone made advantage thereby. At length by the intreaty of the other Soldiers the *Fimbrians* being prevailed upon, conſented to tarry that Summer under him, but even during that time, if no E-

nemy came to fight them, to be Free. *Lucullus* of neceſſity was forc'd to comply with this, or elſe to leave the deſerted Province to the *Barbarians*. He kept them indeed with him, but without any Power over them: Nor did he lead them out to Battel, being contented that they would ſtay with him, though he then ſaw *Cappadocia* waſted by *Tigranes*, and *Mithridates* again doing miſchief, whom not long before he reported to the Senate to be wholly ſubdued; whereupon Legats were arriv'd to ſettle the Affairs of *Pontus*, as if all had been quiet there. But when they came, they found him not ſo much as Maſter of himſelf, but contemned and derided by the Common Soldiers: Who arrived at that height of Inſolence againſt their General, that at the end of Summer they put on their Armour and drew their Swords, and defied their Enemies then abſent, and gone off a long while before, with great Out-crys, and Aiery Skirmiſhes going round the Camp, and proclaiming that the time was expired, which they promiſed to ſtay with *Lucullus*: *Pompey* had drawn many to his ſide by Letters; by the Favour of the People and his Intereſt with the Tribunes, being then choſen General of the Army againſt *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*.

*granes.* But it then appeared to the Senate and all unbiaſſed Men, that *Lucullus* was injured, having thoſe put over his Head, who ſucceeded rather to his Triumph, than the War, being not only deprived of Command, but the Glory which he juſtly deſerved, and forc'd to yield it to another.

It was *juſt matter of Pity* to thoſe who were preſent; for *Lucullus* remained no longer Maſter of Rewards or Puniſhments, for Actions of War; neither would *Pompey* ſuffer any Man to go to him, or give heed to what he did himſelf, or with advice of his ten Legats, but expreſsly gave Command to the contrary, and could not but be obeyed by reaſon of his greater Power. But Friends on both ſides thought it neceſſary to bring them together, who met in a certain Village of *Galatia*, and Friendly ſaluted each other. *Lucullus* was the Elder, but *Pompey* the more Honourable, for his oftner Command, and two Triumphs. Both had Rods of Laurel carried before them for their Victories. And when *Pompey*'s Laurels were withered, by paſſing through hot and droughty Places, *Lucullus* his Vergers Friendly gave them ſome of the freſh and green ones which they had: Which *Pompey*'s Friends counted a good Omen, for the others Actions were Νεμεσητὸν.

they which truly adorned his Empire. At the Interview they came to no amicable Agreement, but went off more diſſatisfied. *Pompey* repealed all the Acts of *Lucullus*, drew off his Soldiers, and left him no more than ſixteen Hundred for Triumph, and even thoſe unwilling to go with him. So unqualified was *Lucullus*, either by Nature or Misfortune, for the chiefeſt thing in a General, which had he added to his other ſingular Virtues (his Fortitude, Vigilance, Wiſdom, Juſtice) the *Roman Empire* had not had *Euphrates* for its Boundary in *Aſia*, but the uttermoſt parts of the Earth, and the *Hyrcanian* Sea. Other Nations being then diſabled by the late Conqueſts of *Tigranes*, the Power of *Parthia* could not be ſo conſiderable againſt *Lucullus* as it afterwards appeared againſt *Craſſus*, being then alſo divided at home, by Domeſtick and inteſtine War, and utterly unable to keep off the Encroachments of *Armenia*. But *Lucullus* ſeems more to have injured his Country by others, than he profited it by himſelf. For the Trophies in *Armenia* ſtand near the *Parthians*, and *Tigranocerta*, and *Niſibis*, and the great Wealth brought from thence to *Rome*, with the Captive Crown of *Tigranes* carried in Triumph, did all puff up *Craſſus*, as if the *Barbarians*

*Barbarians* had been nothing elſe but Spoils and Booty. Who falling among the *Parthian* Archers, ſoon demonſtrated that *Lucullus* his Triumphs were not beholding to the Inadvertency, and Effeminacy of his Enemies, but to his own Courage and Conduct. But of this afterwards. *Lucullus* upon his return to *Rome* found his Brother *Mark* accuſed by *C. Memmius*, for what he did, when Treaſurer, by the Command of *Sylla*; who being fled, *Memmius* changed the Scene, and animated the People againſt him, and perſwaded them to deny him a Triumph, for ſuppreſſing the Spoils, and prolonging the War. *Lucullus* his Caſe being much diſputed, the Nobility and chief Men mixed themſelves among the Tribes, and with much Intreaty and Labour ſcarce at length prevailed upon them, to Conſent to his Triumph. The pomp of his Triumph was not amazing and tedious, as others had been with a long Train, and number of things carried therein, but conſiſted chiefly in vaſt Quantities of Armour, and Machines of the King's placed in the *Flaminian Cirque*. A Spectacle nothing deſpicable. In his Progreſs paſſed by a few Horſemen in Armour, ten Chariots armed with Scyths, ſixty Friends and Officers of the King's, and a hundred and

ten long beak'd Ships were carried along with them. The Golden Image of *Mithridates* ſix Foot high, and rich Head-pieces, twenty Loads of Silver Veſſels, and thirty two of Golden Cups, Armour, and Mony; all carried by Men. Beſide which, eight Mules were laden with Golden Beds, fifty ſix with Bullion, and a hundred and ſeven with Coyned Mony and
2700000 Silver, little leſs than *two hundred and ſeventy Myriads*. In publick Tables were written what Monies he gave *Pompey* for proſecuting the Pyratick War, what he delivered into the Treaſury, and what beſide he gave to every Soldier, which was nine hundred and fifty Drachma's *per* Man: After all which he nobly feaſted the City and Suburbs. Being divorc'd from *Clodia*, a diſſolute and wicked Woman, he married *Servilia* Siſter to *Cato*: It proved an unfortunate Match, for ſhe was Guilty of all *Clodia*'s Vices but one, and that was Inceſt with her Brothers. Out of reverence to *Cato*, he for a while connived at her Impurity, and Immodeſty, but at lengh diſmiſſed her. When the Senate expected great things from him, as one that would be a Check to the Uſurpation of *Pompey*, and by the Greatneſs of his Station and Credit, would defend the Nobility, he retired from Buſineſs,

neſs, and left the Republick; either, becauſe he ſaw her in a languiſhing Condition, and irrecoverable, or, as others ſay, becauſe he was as great as he could well be, and enclined to a quiet and eaſie Life, after thoſe Labours and Toyls, which had not ſucceeded under him. There are thoſe who highly commend his Change of Life, avoiding thereby that Rock whereon *Marius* ſplit: For he after his *Cimbrian* Conqueſt, wherein he did Noble and Great Things, would by no means be contented with the Honour thereof, but out of an inſatiable deſire of Glory and Power, even in his old Age, managed a Faction in the Government againſt the Youth, and became Guilty of horrid Crimes, and worſe Murthers. Better had it been for *Cicero* after *Cataline*'s Conſpiracy to have retired in his Age, and for *Scipio* after his *Numantine* and *Carthaginian* Conqueſts, to have ſate down contented. For the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs will determine, and States Men, as well as Wreſtlers are laid aſide, when Strength and Youth fail.

*Craſſus* and *Pompey* laugh'd to ſee *Lucullus* become Luxurious and Effeminate, Feaſting being altogether as inconvenient for his Age, as Government of Affairs at Home, or an Army Abroad. In *Lucullus*

his Life, as in the old Comedy, we meet with Policy and Action in the beginning; and good Eating and Drinking in the end: And indeed ſcarce any thing but Feaſtings, and *Revellings*, and Sports. Among which I count his ſtately Buildings, Porticō's, and Baths; but above all his *Pictures and Carving*, and great Induſtry about theſe Curioſities, which with vaſt Expence he Collected, laviſhly beſtowing all the Wealth and Treaſure which he got in the War upon them: Inſomuch that now a-days, when Luxury reigns, the *Lucullian* Gardens are counted the Nobleſt that the Emperor hath. *Tubero* the Stoick, when he ſaw his Buildings at *Neapolis*, where he ſuſpended the Hills upon Arches, brought in the Sea for Moats and Fiſh-ponds round his Houſe, and built Pleaſure-Houſes in the Waters, called him *Xerxes in a Gown*. He had alſo fine Seats in *Tuſculum*, pleaſant Proſpects, and large Apartments, and Portico's for Men; where *Pompey* coming to ſee him, blamed him for making his Habitation ſo pleaſant in Summer, but inconvenient in Winter: To whom he ſmilingly replied, *Do you think I am leſs provident than Cranes and Storks, not to change my Habitation with the Seaſon?* When a *Prætor* with great Charge and Pains was ſetting out a Spectacle to the

Λαμπάδας.

Γεφυρὰς καὶ ἀνδριάντας.

the People, and asked him to lend him ſome Purple Hangings for the Stage, he told him he would go home, and ſee, and if he had any, he would lend him; and on the next Day asking how many he wanted, and being told that a Hundred would ſuffice, ordered him to take twice as many; which made *Horace* ſay, "That he eſteem-"ed that a poor Houſe where the Lumber "and unneceſſary Utenſils are not more "than the Furniture in ſight.

*Lucullus* his Entertainments were ever new and extravagant, not only with Purple Carpets, and Plate adorned with Precious Stones, and Dancings, and Interludes, but for all manner of Dainties, and Sweetmeats pil'd up. Which made the People admire him. It was a happy Thought of *Pompey* in his Sickneſs, when his Phyſician preſcribed a Thruſh for his Dinner, and his Servants told him, That in Summer time Thruſhes were no where but in *Lucullus* his Penns, would not ſuffer them to fetch one thence, but told his Phyſician, Had not *Lucullus* fed on Thruſhes, *Pompey* had not lived, and thereupon ordered ſome other thing at hand to be made ready for him. *Cato* was his Friend and Companion, but nevertheleſs ſo hated his Life and Diet, that when a young Man in the Senate made a long and tedious Speech in Praiſe of Frugality

Frugality and Temperance, *Cato* ſtanding up, replied, *Will you never have done? You who are as Rich as* Craſſus, *live like* Lucullus, *and ſpeak like* Cato. It is plain from his own Mouth, that *Lucullus* was not only pleaſed with, but gloried in his way of Living; for he is ſaid to have feaſted ſeveral *Greeks* upon their coming to *Rome* Day after Day. Who out of a true *Grecian* Principle being aſhamed, and refuſing the Invitation, where ſo great an Expence was every Day cauſed for them, he with a pleaſing Countenance told them, *Some of this indeed, my* Grecian *Friends, is for your ſakes, but more for* Lucullus *his own.* Once when he Supped alone, there being only one Table, and that but moderately furniſh'd, he called his Steward and reproved him; who imagining that there would be no need of any great Entertainment, when no Body was invited, was anſwer'd, *What do not you know, that to Day* Lucullus *is to eat with* Lucullus? Which being noiſed about the City, *Cicero* and *Pompey* one Day met him loitering in the Market-Place, one a principal Friend and Acquaintance, but there had been ſome falling out between *Pompey* and him, about the Command of the Army, but however they uſed civilly to diſcourſe, and talk together. *Cicero* ſaluted him, and ask'd him how

how he ſtood affected to diſputing? Who anſwering very well, and inviting them to it, *We*, ſaid he, *will eat with you to day, if there ſhall be no more than what is already provided.* *Lucullus* being ſurpriſed, and requeſting a days time, they refuſed to grant it, neither ſuffered him to talk with his Servants, for fear he ſhould give Order for more than was appointed before. But thus much they conſented to, that before their Faces he might tell his Servant, that to day he would ſup in the *Apollo* (for ſo one of his beſt Dining Rooms was called) and by this Evaſion impos'd upon his Gueſts. To every Room (as it ſeems) was allotted a proportion of Diet, having its proper Coſts and Furniture belonging to it; ſo that the Servants knowing where he would dine, knew alſo how much was to be expended, and how the Supper was to be prepared. The expence for the *Apollo* was fifty thouſand pence, which being that day conſumed, the greatneſs thereof did not ſo much amaze *Pompey*, as the haſte in dreſſing. He inſulted over Mony as Captive, and *Barbarian*; as indeed it was. But however his furniſhing a Library deſerved praiſe and thanks, for he collected very many, and choice Manuſcripts; but the Uſe they were put to, was more commendable than the Purchaſe. The Library being always open,

open, and the Walks and Schools about it free to all *Greeks*, who from Buſineſs came thither as to the Habitation of the Muſes, walking about, and diverting one another. He himſelf often ſtudied there, diſputing with the Learned in the Walks, and giving his Advice to States-Men who required it, inſomuch that his Houſe was altogether a Receptacle, and a *Greek Prytaneum* to all that came to *Rome*. He underſtood all ſorts of Philoſophy, and was well read, and expert in them all. But he always favoured and valued the Academy from the beginning; not the new one (which at that time under *Philo* flouriſh'd with the Precepts of *Carneades*) but the old one then under the Government of *Aſcalonites Antiochus*, a learned and eloquent Man: *Lucullus* with great Labour made him his Friend and Companion, and ſet him up on purpoſe againſt *Philo*'s Auditors, among whom *Cicero* was one, who wrote an excellent Book in Defence of his Sect, wherein he hath made a Diſcouſe for *Lucullus*, about Apprehenſion, contrary to his own Opinion. The Book is called *Lucullus*. For, as 'tis ſaid, they were good Friends, and acted jointly in the publick Concern. For *Lucullus* did not wholly retire from the Republick, but from Ambition, and deſire of Superiority, and Greatneſs equally dangerous,

gerous, and troubleſome, which he left to *Craſſus*, and *Cato*. To whom the Senate who ſuſpected *Pompey*'s greatneſs joyned themſelves, when *Lucullus* refuſed to head them. For his Friends he came into the *Forum*, and into the Senate to curb the Ambition and Pride of *Pompey*; whoſe Orders after his Conqueſts over the Kings, he annull'd, and by the Aſſiſtance of *Cato* hindred a diviſion of Lands to the Soldiers, which he propoſed. Which made *Pompey* go over to *Craſſus*, and *Cæſar*'s Friendſhip, or rather Conſpiracy, and then by filling the City with Armed Men, to eſtabliſh his Decrees by Force, and drive *Cato* and *Lucullus* away. Which being reſented by the Nobility, *Pompey*'s Party produc'd one *Vettius*, pretending they apprehended him in a deſign againſt *Pompey*'s Life. Who in the Senate-houſe accuſed others, but among the People named *Lucullus*, as if he had been ſuborned by him to kill *Pompey*. No Body gave heed to what he ſaid, and it ſoon appeared that they had produced a Man with a falſe charge, and accuſation. After a few days the whole Intrigue was diſcovered, the Carcaſe of the Accuſer being thrown out of Priſon, reported indeed to have died a natural Death, but carrying marks of a halter, and blows about him; and ſeeming rather to have been taken off by

by those who suborned him. These things kept *Lucullus* at a greater distance from the Republick.

But when *Cicero* left the City, and *Cato* was banished to *Cyprus*, he became altogether sottish; it is reported, that before his Death, his parts fail'd him by degrees. But *Cornelius Nepos* denies that either Age, or Sickness impair'd his Mind, which was rather doz'd by a Potion, given him by *Callisthenes* his Freeman. The Potion given him by *Callisthenes*, was to endear him to him, being so prepared, but it acted quite otherwise, and so disabled and intoxicated his Mind, that even while he was alive, his Brother ordered his Affairs. At his Death, which was the Death of one taken off in the very flower of Martial, and civil Discipline, the People were much concerned, and flockt together, and even by force would have taken his Corps, as it was carried into the Market place, by young Men of the best Quality, and have Buried it in the *Martian* field, where they buried *Sylla*. Which being altogether unexpected, and Necessaries not easily to be procured on a sudden, his Brother after much intreaty and sollicitation prevailed upon them to suffer him to be buried in the *Tusculan* field, as was appointed. He himself survived him but a small time, coming not far behind

in

in Death, as he did in Age, and Renown, being a moſt loving Brother.

---

## *The Compariſon of* Lucullus *with* Cimon.

ONE might bleſs the end of *Lucullus*, who died before the great alteration of Affairs, which Fate by inteſtine Wars was bringing on, and left this Life in a free, though troubled State, wherein above all other things, *Cimon* and He agreed. For he died alſo when the State of *Greece* was free, and flouriſhed; tho' in the Field, at the head of his Army, not recalled, nor diſgraced, nor ſullying the Glory of his Wars, Engagements, and Conqueſts, with Feaſtings, and Debauches: As *Plato* reprehended *Orpheus* for ſaying, That an eternal Debauch hereafter, was the Reward of thoſe who lived well here. Indeed Eaſe and Quiet, and the Study of pleaſant and ſpeculative Learning to an old Man unfit for War, or State, is a moſt ornamental, and comfortable thing; but to miſ-guide virtuous Actions to Pleaſure as their utmoſt end, and to leave the Wars for the Sports and Delights of *Venus*, did not become the gravity

gravity of the Academy, and a follower of *Xenocrates*, but one that rather inclined to *Epicurus*. But the greateſt wonder of all is, their Youthful days were flat oppoſite, the ones being infamous, and vicious, the others well diſciplin'd, and ſober; yet better is the change for good, for it argues a more ingenuous Mind, where Vice decayeth, and Virtue increaſeth. Though both had great Wealth, they differently employed it; and there is no compariſon between the South-Wall of the Tower, built by *Cimon*, and the ſtately Manſions and watery Proſpects at *Neapolis* built by *Lucullus*, out of the Spoils of the *Barbarians*. Neither can we compare *Cimon*'s popular and numerous Table, to the noble and Royal one of *Lucullus*, that receiving a great many Gueſts every Day at ſmall expence, this being richly ſpread for a few *good fellows*. Unleſs you will ſay that different times made the alteration. For who can tell, but that *Cimon*, if he had retired in his old Age from Buſineſs and War, to Quiet and Solitude, might have liv'd a more luxurious and debauch'd Life, who was a Good-fellow, a pleaſant Companion, and (as is ſaid) a lover of Women. But brave and generous Actions tranſported with other delights, then ariſe from the lower appetite, make active and heroick

Τρυφῶν-τας.

heroick Men neglect and forget theſe. Had but *Lucullus* ended his days in the Field, Envy it ſelf and Detraction could never have accuſed him. So much for their manner of Life.

In War, it is plain they were both Men of excellent Conduct, both at Land, and Sea. And as they honoured thoſe Champions who on the ſame day, in the ſame Games, were Crowned for their Maſtery in all, by calling their Actions *Wonderful Victories*: So likewiſe *Cimon* honouring *Greece* with a Sea and Land Victory on the ſame day, is worthy to be placed in the firſt rank of Commanders. *Lucullus* received Command from his Country, but *Cimon* brought it to his. He united the Lands of his Enemies to her, who Ruled over Confederates before, but this Man taking the Power out of other Hands, made his Country both Rule over Confederates, and conquer Enemies too. Forcing the *Perſians* to relinquiſh the Sea, and the *Lacedemonians* to ſubmit. But if it be the chiefeſt thing in a General to win his Soldiers to Obedience by Gentleneſs, *Lucullus* was deſpiſed by his own Army, but *Cimon* was obeyed by others. Thoſe deſerted the one, theſe fled for Protection to the other. He came home without thoſe Forces, he led out; this Man, ſent

out at firſt under the Command of others, returned home with Authority even over them alſo, having ſerved his City in three difficult Negotiations, eſtabliſhing Peace with the Enemy, Dominion over Confederates, and Unity with *Lacedemon*. Both aiming to deſtroy great Kingdoms, and ſubdue all *Aſia*, fail'd in their Enterpriſe, *Cimon* very unfortunately, for he died when General, in the height of Felicity. But *Lucullus* no Man can excuſe from a fault to his Soldiers, whether he knew not, or would not comply with, the diſtaſte and complaints of his Army, which brought him into ſo great hatred among them. But did not *Cimon* alſo ſuffer like him in this? For the Citizens arraigned him, and never left 'till they had baniſhed him: That, as *Plato* ſays, they might not hear him for the ſpace of ten years. For Heroick Minds ſeldom pleaſe the Vulgar, or are acceptable to them, for by puniſhing their Extravagancies, oftentimes pinch to the quick, like Chirurgeons bands, reducing diſlocated Bones to their Natural poſition. But both of them perhaps may be cleared of this.

*Lucullus* very much out-went him in War, being the firſt *Roman* who carried an Army over *Taurus*, paſſed the *Tigris*, took and burnt the Royal Palaces of *Aſia* in

in the ſight of the Kings, *Tigranocerta*, *Cabira*, *Sinope*, and *Niſibis*, ſubduing the North-parts as far as *Phacis*, the Eaſt as far as *Media*, and the South and Red Sea, through the Kingdoms of *Arabia*. Broke the Power of Kings, and narrowly miſſed their Perſons, who fled away like wild Beaſts into the Deſarts, the thick and unpaſſable Woods. A demonſtration of which was, That the *Perſians*, as if no great harm had befell them under *Cimon*, ſoon after appeared in Arms againſt the *Grecians*, and overcame and deſtroyed a great Army of theirs in *Egypt*. But after *Lucullus*, *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* were able to do nothing, the latter being diſabled, and broken in the former Wars, never dared to ſhew his Army to *Pompey* without the Camp, but fled away to *Boſphorus* and there died. *Tigranes* threw himſelf naked and unarmed down before *Pompey*, and taking his Crown from his head, laid it at his Feet, complementing *Pompey* with what was not his own, but that which *Lucullus* had triumphed over before; and when he received the Enſigns of Majeſty again, he was well pleaſed, becauſe deprived before. Greater is that Commander, who, like a Wreſtler, leaves an Adverſary almoſt Conquered for his Succeſſor; and therefore *Cimon* at his

Arrival finding the Forces of the King diſperſed, and the Minds of the *Perſians* down by their continual Overthrows, and flights under *Themiſtocles*, *Pauſanias*, and *Leotychides*, eaſily overcame their Bodies, whoſe Souls were diſpirited and faint before. But *Tigranes* never yet baſled in fight, but fluſh'd with Succeſs, engaged with *Lucullus*. There is no compariſon between thoſe numbers, which came againſt *Lucullus*, and thoſe ſubdued by *Cimon*. All which things being rightly conſidered it is a hard matter to give Judgment: For the Gods were favourable to both Parties, directing the one what to act, the other what to avoid, and they have thereby declared them both brave Men, and of heavenly Extract.

THE

# NICIAS.



# THE LIFE OF *NICIAS.*

Engliſhed from the *Greek*,

By *THOMAS RYMER*, Eſq;

VOLUME III.

*Craſſus*, in my Opinion, may moſt properly be ſet againſt *Nicias*, and the *Parthian* Diſaſter compared with that in *Sicily*. But then, in the firſt place, I muſt beſeech the Reader in all Courteſy, not to think that I contend with *Thucydides*, in matters ſo Pathetically, ſo Nobly, ſo beyond all Imitation, and even beyond himſelf, expreſt by him; nor to believe me guilty of the like folly with

*Of* Timæus *the Hiſtorian.*

*Timæus*, who hoping, in his Hiſtory, for Majeſty of Style to ſurpaſs *Thucydides*, and make *Philiſtus* appear a Trifler and very Dolt, puſhes on his Deſcriptions thorow the thickeſt of their main Battels, Atchievements at Sea, and Debates of Council, the moſt laboured, and the moſt accurately delineated by them, bearing up with them,

*No more, by* Jove,
*Than a limping Footman, to the* Lydian
*Chariot.*

As *Pindar* has it. He ſhows himſelf all along half-lettered, a dealer in ſmall Wares. And, according to that of *Diphilus*,

*All Fat, and rowling in* Sicilian *Greaſe.*

He oftentimes falls ſo very low, as even with *Xenarchus* to quibble; telling us that *he thought it Ominous to the* Athenians, *that their General who had* **Victory in his Name, refuſed to Command in the Expedition:* And that *from the defacing of the* **Hermæ, ſome God foretold they ſhould very much ſuffer in War, by* Hermocrates *the Son of* Hermon. And moreover, how *'twas likely, that* Hercules *would aid the* Syracuſians, *for the* **Mayden's ſake, by whoſe means he took* Cerberus, *but would be angry with*

* Nicias.

* *Images of* Mercury.

* Proſerpina.

*with the* Athenians *for protecting the* Egeſteans, *deſcended from* Trojan *Anceſtors, when as he for an Injury of their King* Laomedon, *had Sack'd their City.* But this Author, peradventure, choſe to write theſe things, out of the ſame abundant Conſideration, and Wiſdom, as he finds fault with the Language of *Philiſtus*; and carps at every where what he meets with in *Plato*, and *Ariſtotle*.

This ſort of Contention, and vying with others in Matter of Style, in my mind, at the beſt, looks very little, and ſhows the certain Spirit of a *Pedant*; but in things unimitable is intolerable.

Such Actions therefore as *Thucydides* and *Philiſtus* have related, ſeeing they are not to be paſt by, eſpecially thoſe that diſcover the *Genius* of the Man, and his Diſpoſition, which under his many and great Troubles lay concealed, thoſe, I ſay, that I may not ſeem altogether negligent, I ſhall briefly run over; And ſuch things as are not vulgarly known, and lie ſcattered here and there in other Mens Writings, or are found amongſt the old Monuments and Archives, I ſhall endeavour to bring together; not huddling up an impertinent Story, but delivering what may make his Diſpoſition and Temper underſtood.

Three Eminent Citizens.

First of all I would premiſe what *Ariſtotle* has written concerning *Nicias*, *That there had been three good Citizens eminent above the reſt for their fatherly Affection and Love to the People*, Nicias *the Son of* Niceratus, Thucydides *the Son of* Mileſius, *and* Theramenes *the Son of* Agnon; but the laſt leſs than the others; for his mean Extraction was caſt in his Teeth, as a *Foreigner from* Ceos, and his Unconſtancy, ſiding ſometimes with one Party, ſometimes with another, in the Commonwealth, made him be Nick-named the * *Buskin*.

* Theramenes Cothurnus.

*Thucydides* was the foremoſt in time, he on the Behalf of the *Nobility*, ſtifly oppoſed *Pericles*, who cajol'd the *Commons*.

*Nicias* came after, yet was in ſome Reputation even whilſt *Pericles* lived: Inſomuch as to be in joint Commiſſion with him, and many times to be General alone; but *Pericles* dying, he preſently roſe to the higheſt Preferments, chiefly by the Favour of the *Nobility*, who ſet him for their Bulwark againſt the Preſumption and Inſolence of *Cleon*; yet withal he held the good Will of the *Commons*, who likewiſe contributed to his Advancement. For tho' *Cleon*'s Intereſt ran very high by his Careſſing the Old Men, and by his frequent Dole

to

to the Poor; yet even they, whom he practiſed upon for their Favour, beholding the Avarice, the Arrogance, and the Preſumption of the Man, ſtood many of 'em for *Nicias*.

For his was not that ſort of Gravity, which is over harſh or odious, but tempered with a certain awful Reſpect and Deference, winning upon the People, by ſeeming afraid of them. And being naturally Diffident and Timorous, in Feats of War his good Fortune ſupplied his want of Courage, and kept it from being detected, his Enterprizes proving always Succeſsful. But his Timorouſneſs in point of Government, and his huge dread of *Informers*, tended very much to conciliate the good Will of the People; and gave him no ſmall Power over them: They being fearful of one that deſpiſes them, but promoting him that pays them Reverence; for their greateſt Honour, from their Betters, is not to be Contemned.

*Pericles*, who by ſolid Virtue, and the pure dint of Eloquence, ruled the Commonwealth, ſtood in need of no Diſguiſe, nor wheadling with the People; which Talents *Nicias* wanting, but abounding in Riches, with theſe he was fain to truck for Popularity.

Neither was he made with the nimble Wit

Wit of *Cleon*, ſo as by breaking Jeſts, and playing the Droll to tickle the *Athenians*; therefore being unprovided of ſuch like Qualities, he treated the People with Dances and Games, and other publick Shows, more Sumptuous and more Splendid, than had been ever known in his, or in former Ages.

Amongſt his Works of *Devotion* there was Extant, even in our days, a Shrine of *Minerva* in the Citadel, having loſt the Gold that covered it: And a Temple in that of *Bacchus* under the *Tripods*, that were preſented by thoſe at the publick Games, who won the Prize: For at theſe Games he had often carried off the Prize, and never once failed.

'Tis reported that at one of theſe publick Shows, a Slave of his paſt along in Maſquerade, perſonating *Bacchus*, Fair and Goodly to behold, nor yet any Beard upon his Chin: The *Athenians* pleaſed with the Sight, and hopping a long time, *Nicias* ſtood up, and ſaid, *He held it impious, to keep any Body for a Slave, who had publickly been likened to a God.* And forthwith he ſet the young Man free.

Nicias's Acts of Devotion.

His Performances at *Delos* are remembred, as Noble and Magnificent Works of *Devotion*. For whereas the *Chorus* which the Cities had ſent to ſing Anthems to the

the God, were wont to arrive all in Confuſion; the Rabble coming preſently to meet the Ship, and crying to 'em to ſing: And they out of haſte, debarking in diſorder, and making a Clutter, ſome for their Garlands, ſome for their Surplices. Now he being to Convoy the *Chorus*, ſhip'd them over to *Rhenia*, together with the Sacrifice, and other Holy Appurtenances. And, moreover, took along with him, from *Athens*, a Bridge ready fitted for the purpoſe, and curiouſly Adorned with Manufactures of Gold, and with Pictures, and Garlands, and Tapeſtries; this he joined together, in the Night, over the Channel, betwixt *Rhenia* and *Delos*, being no great diſtance: And preſently by break of Day he marched forth with all the Proviſion to the God, and led the *Chorus* with all their Ornaments in exquiſite Order, ſinging all along over the Bridge.

The Sacrifices, the Games, and the Feaſt being over, he ſet up a Palm-Tree of Braſs for a Preſent to the God, and bought a parcel of Land with ten thouſand Drachma's, which he Conſecrated: with the Revenue the Inhabitants of *Delos* were to Sacrifice, and to Feaſt, and to pray the Gods for *many good Things* to *Nicias*. This he ingraved on a Pillar, which he left in *Delos* to

to be a Record of his bequeſt. This ſame Palm-Tree, afterwards broken down by the Wind, fell on the huge Statue which the Men of *Naxus* had Preſented, and beat it to the Ground.

'Tis very plain, that much of this looks like Vain-Glory, and ſhews a ſtrong Affectation of Popularity and Applauſe: Yet from other Qualities and Carriage of the Man, one might believe all this Coſt and Magnificence to be purely the Effect of his Devotion: For he was one of thoſe who dreaded the Divine Powers extremely, and, (as *Thucydides* informs us) *was moap'd with Godlineſs*. In one of *Paſiphon*'s Dialogues 'tis written, that *He daily Sacrificed to the Gods, and keeping a Divine at his Houſe, he pretended to be Conſulting always about the Commonwealth, whereas for the moſt part he enquired only of his private Affairs, more eſpecially concerning his Silver Mines*; for he poſſeſſed many and of great avail, in the Lauriotick Ground; but wrought them not without Hazard. He maintain'd there a multitude of Slaves, and his Wealth conſiſted chiefly in Silver: Whereby he had many Retainers, and many Hangers on about him; craving and having: For he gave to them who could do him Miſchief, no leſs, than to thoſe who deſerved well of him. In ſhort,

ſhort, his Fear made a Rent-Charge for the Rogues, and his Humanity for honeſt Men. Of theſe things we have Teſtimony, even in our Comedies, for *Teleclides* brings in an Informer, ſaying thus; *His Timorouſneſs.*

*Troth,* Charicles *refus'd to give five Mark,*
*Leſt it be ſaid that he (an Elder Brother)*
*Came firſt of all from out his Mother's Fob;*
*But* Nicias, Niceratus's *Son:*
*Gave twenty Mark: Wherefore! Tho' well I know, I ſay not;*
*He is a Friend, and Wiſe, if I miſtake not.*

And he, who is brought in by *Eupolis* (in his *Maricas*) Repreſenting a good ſimple Poor Man;

*How long (Friend) ſince thou laſt ſaw* Nicias? Informer.
*I ſaw him not, ſafe lately ſtanding in the Streets.* Poor man
*The Man Confeſſes that he ſaw* Nicias, Informer.
*And what the wiſer he for ſeeing him, unleſs he had a ſpell for him.*
*You have heard (Companions)* Nicias *taken in the very Fact.*
*Think you (ye Sots) to take a good Man in any Crime.* Author.

*Cleon,*

*Cleon*, in *Ariſtophanes* threatning, ſays,

*I'll Throttle their fine Speakers, and make* Nicias *all agaſt.*

*Phrynichus* repreſents him wanting Courage, and ready to be ſcar'd out of his Senſes, in theſe Verſes,

*Good Man was he (that very well I know)*
*And never did, like* Nicias, *Trembling go.*

*Reſervedneſs.* So afraid he was of Informers, and ſo reſerved, that he neither would venture to eat with any Citizen, nor to have ordinary Diſcourſe with them, nor any Converſation, nor Paſtime whatſoever. Nor indeed, had he any leiſure for thoſe Diverſions. When he was *Archon*, he ſtaid in Court till Night, was the firſt upon the Bench, and the laſt that left it. And if no Publick Buſineſs took up his time, yet was it very hard to have Acceſs, or to ſpeak with him, he being retired at home, and Lock'd up. And when any came to the Door, ſome Friend of his gave them good Words, and *beg'd their Pardon, for that* Nicias *was then very buſie; certain Affairs of State, and the publick lay heavy upon him.*

Who principally Acted this part for him, and contributed moſt whet to his Pride

Pride and Vanity in this matter, was *Hieron*, a Man educated in *Nicias*'s Family, and inſtructed by him in Letters and Muſick: He pretended to be the Son of *Dionyſius* Sirnamed *Chalcus*, whoſe Poems are yet Extant; and who was Governor of a *Colony* that planted in *Italy*, and built *Thurij*.

This *Hieron* alſo Tranſacted all the Secrets for *Nicias* with the *Divines*. And gave out in Speeches to the People: *What a toylſome and miſerable Life he led, for the ſake of the Common-wealth. He* (ſaid *Hieron*) *can never be at quiet, neither at the Bath, nor at his Meat, but ſome publick Care ſeizes him: Careleſs and Negligent of his own, Zealous for the publick Good; ſcarce ever going to Bed, till after that others have had their firſt ſleep: So that his Health is impaired, and his Body waſted: Neither chearful, nor affable with his Friends, but abandons them, together with his own Concerns for the Publick; other Men make Friends by being in Office, enrich themſelves, fare Deliciouſly, and Play with the Government.*

And this truly, was *Nicias* his manner of Life; ſo that well might he apply to himſelf, that of *Agamemnon*,

*With*

*With Pageantries, and Pomp, the World I brave,*
*Yet, in Effect, am but the People's Slave.*

He obſerved that the People in a Man of Eloquence, or of eminent Parts and Ability, made uſe of his Talent to ſerve their Occaſions; but were always Jealous, and held a watchful Eye upon his Power, curbing and breaking it, and taking down his Authority and Reputation. This was manifeſt in their Condemnation of *Pericles*, their Baniſhment of *Damon*, their Diſtruſt of *Antiphon* the *Rhamnuſian*, but eſpecially in the Caſe of *Laches* that took *Lesbos*, who giving an Account of his Conduct, in the very Court of Juſtice unſheathed his Sword, and ſlew himſelf.

*His Caution.* On theſe Conſiderations, *Nicias* declined all Difficult, and all little Enterprizes: Or if he took a Command, he was for doing what was ſafe; thus 'tis likely, he had for the moſt part Succeſs; which he did not attribute to any Wiſdom, Conduct, or Courage of his own, but (to avoid Envy) he thank'd Fortune for all, and gave God the Glory. This the Actions themſelves teſtifie, for at that time there hap'ned many and Terrible ſhocks

to

to the City of *Athens*, yet had not he a hand in any of them. The *Athenians* were routed in *Thrace* by the *Chalcedonians*, *Calliades* and *Xenophon* Commanding in Chief, *Demoſthenes* was the General, when they received the blow in *Ætolia*: At *Delos* they loſt a thouſand Citizens under the Conduct of *Hippocrates*: The Plague was principally laid to the Charge of *Pericles*, he having ſhut up cloſe together in the Town a Crowd of Country-Fellows for the War, who by the Change of place, and their unuſual Courſe of Living bred the Peſtilence.

*Nicias* ſtood clear of all this: And by his Conduct was taken *Cythera* an Iſland moſt Commodious againſt *Laconia*, and held by the *Lacedemonians*; many Places likewiſe in *Thrace*, which had revolted, he took and ſubdued: He, ſhutting up the *Megareans* within their Town, ſeized upon the Iſle *Minoas*: And ſoon after, marching ſwiftly from thence to *Niſæa*, made himſelf Maſter there; then, making a Deſcent upon the *Corinthian* Territory, he overcame in Battel, and ſlew a great number of the *Corinthians*, with their Captain *Lycopheon*. *His Succeſs.*

There it happened that two of his Men were left by an over-ſight, when they carried off the Dead, which when he un-

derſtood, he made an halt, and ſent an Herald to the Enemy for leave to carry off the Dead; tho' by a certain Law and Cuſtom, he that by a Truce craved leave to carry off the Dead, ſeemed to quit the Victory: Nor was it lawful for him that did this, to erect a Trophy; for his is the Victory, who is Maſter of the Field, and he is not Maſter who asks leave, as wanting Power to take. But he choſe rather to renounce his Victory, and his Glory; than to let two Citizens lie unburied.

He ſcowred the Coaſt of *Laconia* all along, and beat the *Lacedemonians* that made head againſt him. He took *Thyræa* Garriſon'd by the *Arginetans*, and carried the Priſoners to *Athens*.

When *Demoſthenes* had fortified *Pylos*, and the *Peloponeſians* brought together all, both their Sea and Land-Forces before it, after the Fight, about the number of four hundred Native *Spartans* were left aſhore in the Iſle *Sphacteria*: Now the *Athenians* thought it a brave Exploit (as indeed it was) to take theſe Men Priſoners. But the Siege, in places that wanted Water, being very difficult and untoward; and to convey the vaſt neceſſaries about by Sea, in Summer, tedious and vaſtly chargeable, in Winter doubtful, or plainly impoſſible;

poſſible; this grieved them, and they repented their having rejected the Embaſſy of the *Lacedemonians*, that had been ſent to treat a Peace and League with them: Which was done at the Importunity of *Cleon*, who oppoſed it, Chiefly out of a Pique to *Nicias*: For, being his Enemy, and obſerving him to labour a Complyance with the *Lacedemonians*, he perſwaded the People to break off the Treaty. Cleon.

Now therefore that the Siege held long, and they heard of the diſmal Extremities that preſt their Army, they grew inraged againſt *Cleon*; but he turns all the blame upon *Nicias*, charging it on his Softneſs and Cowardize, that the beſieged Eſcap'd: *Were I the General* (quoth he) *They ſhould not hold out ſo long.* The *Athenians* preſently replyed, *Why then do not you go with a Squadron againſt them?* And *Nicias* ſtanding up reſigned his Command at *Pylos* to him, and bids him *take what Forces he pleaſed along with him*, and *not ſwagger with Words, out of harms way, but go forth and perform ſome memorable Service for the Common-wealth.*

*Cleon* at the firſt ſhrunk back, ſtartled with the ſurprize, but the *Athenians* Commanding, and *Nicias* loudly upbraiding him, he ſo provoked, and fired with Ambition, took upon him the Charge; and

ſaid farther, that *once within twenty days after he embarqu'd, he would either kill the Enemy upon the place, or bring them alive to* Athens. This the *Athenians* were readier to laugh at, than to believe, for on other occaſions his Flaſhes and Extravagances uſed to make them ſport, and were pleaſant enough.

As for Inſtance, 'tis reported that once when the People were aſſembled, and had waited his coming a long time, at laſt he enters with a Garland on his Head, and prays them to adjourn to the next day, *For* (quoth he) *I am not at leiſure to day, I have Sacrificed to the Gods, and am to Feaſt my Strangers*: Whereat the *Athenians* laughing, roſe up, and diſſolved the Aſſembly. However, at this time he had the lucky hit, and commanded ſo Gallantly, in Conjunction with *Demoſthenes*, that within the time he had limitted, he carried Captive to *Athens* all the *Spartans* that had not fall'n in Battel.

This brought an horrible Diſgrace on *Nicias*; for this was not to *throw away his Shield*, but ſomething more foul and Ignominious, to quit his Charge voluntarily out of Cowardize, and by yielding up his Command, of his own accord, to put into his Enemies hand the opportunity of Atchieving ſo brave an Action.

*Ariſtophanes*

*Ariſtophanes* has a fling at him on this occaſion, in his *Birds*, ſaying thus,

*No time, by* Jove, *is left for us to ſnort in,*
*Nor to be reſtif like* Nicias---

In his *Husband-men*, he ſays thus,

A. *I Wou'd be telling.* B. *Well, and who hinders thee?*
A. *You, yet wou'd I give an hundred Marks*
*That you wou'd rid my hands of the Charge.*
B. *Content, with thoſe of* Nicias *they will make two Hundred.*

Beſides all this, he did a vaſt prejudice to the City by ſuffering the Acceſſion of ſo great Reputation and Power to *Cleon*: Whereby he aſſumed that Turbulent Spirit, and unbridled Impudence, and opened the Door for greater Miſchief to the Common-wealth; whereof a ſufficient part fell to his own ſhare: For now *Cleon* baniſht away all Decorum from the Pulpit, and firſt of all broke out into Exclamations, flung open his Cloak, ſmote his Thigh, and ran up and down whilſt he was ſpeaking, which ſoon after introduced amongſt thoſe who managed the

Affairs of State, ſuch Licenſe and Contempt of Decency, as brought all into Confuſion.

Alcibiades. Now alſo grew up at *Athens*, *Alcibiades*, ſuch another Common-wealth-Man, tho' not altogether ſo unruly. But as the Land of *Egypt*, which through the Richneſs of the Soyl, is ſaid,

*Great Plenty to produce, (ly Juice.*
*But wholſome Herbs, and Drugs of dead-*

So the Nature of *Alcibiades*, was ſtrong and luxuriant in both kinds; and made way for a great many Innovations. Whereby it fell out that after *Nicias* had got his hands clear of *Cleon*, yet had he not opportunity to ſettle the City perfectly in quietneſs. For having brought Matters to a pretty fair paſs, all was daſh'd and plung'd again into Confuſion by *Alcibiades*, through the Wildneſs and Extravagance of his Ambition; and he embroyled again in War worſe than ever. Which fell out thus:

They who principally hindred the Peace, were *Cleon* and *Braſidas*, War ſetting off the Virtue of the one, and hiding the Villany of the other; it gave to the one Occaſions of Atchieving brave Actions, to the other of Committing enormous

normous Crimes. Now when theſe two were in one Battel thus ſlain near *Amphipolis*, *Nicias* having perceived that the *Spartans* had long been deſirous of a Peace, and that the *Athenians* had no great Stomach to the War; both being alike tired, and (as it were by Conſent) laying down their Arms: He therefore in this nick of time, employs all his Might to make a Friendſhip betwixt theſe two Cities, and to deliver all the other States of *Greece* from the Evils and Calamities they laboured under, and ſo eſtabliſh their Happineſs to after Ages. He found the Men of Subſtance, the aged Men, and the Husbandmen generally all inclined to Peace; beſides many others by diſcourſing in private, and by Informing them, he brought over to be not ſo very Keen for a War. Whereupon he now encouraged the Hopes of the *Lacedemonians*, counſelled them, and put them upon it to ſeek Peace. They confided in him, as being on other Occaſions a moderate Man; and becauſe of his Kindneſs and tender Care over the Priſoners, taken at *Pylos*, and in Chains, making their Misfortune the more eaſie upon them.

The *Athenians* and the *Spartans* had before this, concluded amongſt themſelves, a Ceſſation for a Year, whereby conver-

ſing with one another, they taſted again the ſweetneſs of Peace and Security; and mingling together Familiars and Strangers, they wiſht an end of that fighting and Blood-ſhed. And with delight heard the *Chorus* ſing ſuch as this,

*Reſt my Lance, and no Man mind thee,*
*'Till around the Cobwebs bind thee.*

And with joy remembred that Saying, *They who ſleep in Peace, are awaked by the Cocks-Crow, not by the Trumpet.* And on the ſame ſcore they curſt, and kickt them out of Company, who ſaid that *the Fates decreed this to be a War of thrice nine Years.*

It followed afterwards, that all points having been debated, they made a Peace. And moſt People thought, now, indeed they had got an end of all their Evils: And *Nicias* was in every Man's mouth, as one eſpecially beloved of the Gods, who for his Piety and Devotion, had given him to bear the ſame Name with the faireſt and greateſt of all Bleſſings: For in Truth, they called the Peace Nicias'*s work*, as the War *the Work of* Pericles: Becauſe on very light occaſions he ſeemed to have plunged the *Grecians* into very great Calamities: Whereas *Nicias* perſwaded them to forget the higheſt Injuries, that they might

might be Friends: Wherefore they call that to this day *the Nician Peace.*

The Articles being, That the Garriſons and Towns taken on either ſide, and the Priſoners ſhould be reſtored, and they to reſtore the firſt to whom it ſhould fall by Lot; now (as *Theophraſtus* tells us) *Nicias* ſecretly purchaſt with Mony the Lot for the *Lacedemonians* to deliver the firſt.

Afterwards when the *Corinthians* and the *Bæotians* ſhewed their diſlike of what was done, and by their Complaints and Accuſations well nigh brought back again the War upon them, *Nicias* perſwaded the *Athenians* and the *Lacedemonians*, beſides the Peace, to make a League offenſive and defenſive, which would *be ſuch a tye and ſtrength to them, as would make them more Terrible to thoſe that held out, and be the firmer to each other.*

Whilſt theſe matters were on Foot, *Alcibiades*, who was not of an Humour to be quiet, and who hated the *Lacedemonians*, becauſe of their Applications to *Nicias*, and that they attended him, but overlookt and deſpiſed *Alcibiades.* Yet from firſt to laſt, he heartily oppoſed the Peace, tho' all in vain. 'Till ſometime afterwards finding that the *Lacedemonians* did not altogether come up to pleaſe the *Athenians*, but ſeemed to do them Injuſtice

ſtice in having made a League offenſive and defenſive with the *Bæotians*, and had not obſerved the Agreement ſo fully in the delivery of *Panactus*, nor yet of *Amphipolis*; he laid hold on theſe Occaſions for his purpoſe, and from every trifle inſtigated the People. At the length taking aſide the Ambaſſadors of the *Argives*, he endeavoured to bring them over into a Confederacy with the *Athenians*.

But afterwards when the *Lacedemonian* Ambaſſadors were come with *full Powers*, and at their firſt Audience by the *Council*, they ſeemed to come in all Points, with juſt Propoſals; He, fearing that the People would be drawn to be of their Mind, Circumvented the Ambaſſadors, topping upon them, and ſwearing that the was ready to aſſiſt them in all things, provided that they would not confeſs that they came with *full Powers*, that being the only way for them to attain their Deſires.

They being over-perſwaded, and decoyed from *Nicias*, to follow him, he Preſented them to the *Aſſembly*, and asked them preſently whether or no they came in all Points with *full Powers*; which when they de yed, he contrary to their Expectation, changing his Countenance, called the Council to witneſs their Words, and now bids the People, *Beware how they truſt, or tranſact*

*tranſact any thing with ſuch manifeſt Lyars: Who now affirm this, now the quite contrary of the very ſame thing.* Theſe *Plenipotentiaries* (as well they might) being aſtoniſht at this, and *Nicias* at a loſs what to ſay, being ſtruck with Amazement and Wonder, the *Aſſembly* reſolved to ſend away immediately for the *Argives*, to ſtrike up a League with them. But an Earthquake, which interrupted and brake the *Aſſembly*, made for *Nicias*'s advantage: For the next day the People being again aſſembled, after many Speeches, and great Canvaſſing and Solliciting, with much ado he brought it about, that the Treaty with the *Argives* ſhould be deferred, and he be ſent to the *Lacedemonians*; he promiſing that ſo all would go well.

When he arrived at *Sparta*, they received him there as a good Man, and one well-inclined towards them; yet he effected nothing, but overcome by them that favoured the *Bæotians*, he returned home, not only Diſhonoured, and hardly ſpoken of, but likewiſe in fear of the *Athenians*: Who were vext and enraged that through his Perſwaſions they had let go ſo many, and ſo conſiderable Perſons; for they who had been brought from *Pylos*, were of the chiefeſt Families of *Sparta*,

*ta*, and had the higheſt there in Place and Power, for their Friends and Kindred.

Yet did they not in their heat proceed againſt him, otherwiſe than that they choſe *Alcibiades* their General, and took the *Mantineans*, and *Eleans* (who had revolted from the *Lacedemonians*) into the League, together with the *Argives*: And ſent to *Pylos Free-Booters* to infeſt *Laconia*, whereby the War began to break out afreſh.

But the Enmity betwixt *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* running higher and higher, and
*Oſtraciſm* the time at hand for decreeing the *Oſtraciſm* (or Baniſhment for ten Years, which the People putting the Name in a *Shell*, were wont to inflict at certain times, on ſome Perſon ſuſpected, or otherwiſe envied for his Popularity or Wealth) on which occaſion very much Trouble and Danger attended them both, one of them (in all Likelihood) being to undergo this *Oſtraciſm*, for the People did abominate the Life of *Alcibiades*, but ſtood in fear of his Boldneſs and Reſolution; as is ſhown particularly in the Hiſtory of him.

Then for *Nicias*, his Riches made him envied, and beſides more eſpecially, his Courſe of Life ſeemed neither Popular nor Civil, but reſerved, unſociable, and auſtere. And now becauſe he ſtrongly (againſt the Grain) oppoſed their Inclinations,

ons, forcing them againſt their Intereſt, they hated him.

To ſpeak plainly, it was a Conteſt of the young Men and Soldiers of Fortune, againſt the Men of Years, and Lovers of Peace, they turning the *Oſtraciſm* upon the one, theſe upon the other.

*Into Diviſions when the People fall,*
*The choice oft lights on the worſt Man of all.*

As now it happened, that the City diſtracted into two Factions, preferred the moſt impudent and profligate Perſons: Amongſt whom was *Hyperbolus* of *Perithus*. A fellow not preſuming from any Power, but from his Preſumption riſing into Power; and by the Honour he found in the City, becoming the Scandal of it. Hyperbolus.

He at this time thought himſelf far enough from the *Oſtraciſm*, as more properly deſerving the Gallows, and made account, that one of theſe Men being diſpatched out of the way, he might be able to Bandy againſt the other that ſhould be left; he openly ſhew'd himſelf to rejoyce at the Diſſention, and ſtirred the People againſt both of them. *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, perceiving his Malice, did ſecretly combine together, and ſetting both their Intereſts joyntly at work, did prevail that neither

neither of them both, but even *Hyperbolus* ſhould undergo the *Oſtraciſm*.

This indeed at the firſt made ſport, and raiſed Laughter amongſt the People, but afterwards they took it in great Indignation, as having injured the thing by ſo unworthy a Fellow, there being a kind of Honour in this Puniſhment; looking upon the *Oſtraciſm* as a Puniſhment rather for *Themiſtocles*, *Ariſtides*, and ſuch like Perſons. But for *Hyperbolus* 'twas a Glory, and a fair Pretence for him to boaſt, when for his Villany he ſuffered the ſame with the beſt Men: As *Plato* the Comic Poet ſaid of him,

*He ſuffers what was for ill Manners fit,*
*Unfit for him, unfit for branded Villains,*
Oſtraciſm *was not meant for ſuch as he.*

And in Fact, none ever afterwards ſuffered this ſort of Baniſhment, but *Hyperbolus* was the laſt. *Hipparchus* the *Cholargian* (who was of kin to the Tyrant) was the firſt.

There is no judgment to be made of Fortune; 'tis not to be comprehended by Reaſon: For if *Nicias* had run the risk with *Alcibiades* whether of the two ſhould undergo the *Oſtraciſm*, he had either prevailed, and (his Rival expelled the City) he

he had remained ſecure; or being overcome, he had avoided the utmoſt Diſaſters, and preſerved the Reputation of a moſt excellent Commander.

I am not Ignorant that *Theophraſtus* ſays *Hyperbolus* was baniſht, *Phæax*, not *Nicias* conteſting it with *Alcibiades*; but moſt Authors differ from him.

When the *Egeſtan* and *Leontin* Ambaſſadors arrived, and perſuaded the *Athenians* to make War upon *Sicily*, *Nicias* oppoſed them, but was run down by the Perſwaſions and Ambition of *Alcibiades*; who even before the People could be Aſſembled, entertained and corrupted them with Hopes, and with Speeches; inſomuch that the young Men at their Sports, and the old Men in their Porches, and ſitting together on the Benches, would be drawing Maps of *Sicily*, and making Charts, deſcribing the Seas, the Harbours, and Places, that this Iſle ſhows oppoſite to the *African* Shoar: For they made not *Sicily* the end of the War, but the Magazine, from whence they might carry it to the *Carthaginians*, and be Maſters of *Africk*, and of all the Seas, even to *Hercules*'s Pillars.

Now therefore the bulk of the People preſſing this way, *Nicias*'s Party, who oppoſed them, was neither many, nor of much

much Intereſt; for the Men of Subſtance (fearing leſt they ſhould ſeem to decline the publick Charges and Ship-mony) were quiet againſt their Inclination; yet was he not tyred, nor gave off, but when the *Athenians* decreed a War, and choſe him in the firſt place General, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, when they were again Aſſembled he ſtood up, diſſwaded them, and proteſted againſt the War. And impeacht *Alcibiades*, Charging him *with going about to involve the City in Foreign Dangers and Difficulties, meerly out of reſpect to his private Lucre and Ambition*: Yet it came to nothing. For *Nicias*, becauſe of his Experience, was look'd upon as the fitter for the Employment; his Warineſs with the Bravery of *Alcibiades*, and the Mildneſs of *Lamachus*, all mixt together, promis'd great Security, and very much promoted the Suffrages. So that *Demoſthenes* (who of the leading Men, chiefly preſt the *Athenians* to the Expedition) ſtood up and ſaid, *He would ſtop the mouth of* Nicias *from urging any more Excuſes*; and thereupon mov'd that the Generals might *have abſolute Power both at home and abroad, to Order and to Act what they liſt*. And this he got paſt into Law.

Nicias *againſt the War.*

However, the Prieſts are ſaid to have very

very earneſtly oppoſed this Enterprize. But *Alcibiades* had his Divines of another Cut, who from ſome old Propheſies foretold *the* Athenians *to get great Renown from* Sicily. And certain Pilgrims came back to him from *Jupiter Ammon*, with Oracles importing that *the* Athenians *ſhould take all the* Syracuſians.

They who knew any thing that boded ill, concealed it, leſt they might ſeem to foreſpeak ill Luck; for even Prodigies that were obvious and plain, would not deter them; nor the defacing of the *Hermæ*, all in one Night maimed, ſave only that one, called the *Herma* of *Andocides*, erected by the *Ægean* Tribe, placed then directly before the Houſe of *Andocides*: Nor what was perpetrated on the Altar of the *Twelve Gods*, where a certain Man leapt ſuddenly upon the Altar, and then turning round, with a Stone cut off his Privities. Likewiſe at *Delphos*, there ſtood a Golden Image of *Minerva* in a Palm-Tree of Braſs, erected by the City of *Athens*, for the Spoils they won from the *Medes*; this was peck'd at ſeveral days together by Crows flying upon it, and they pluck'd off the Fruit of the Palm-Tree, which was Gold, and threw it down. But the *Athenians* ſaid, *Theſe were all but Tricks of the* Delphians, *corrupted by the Men of* Syracuſe. *Prodigies.*

And a certain Oracle requiring them to bring from *Clazomene* a She-Prieſt of *Minerva* (whom they now ſent for) named *Heſychia*, that is to ſay, *Quietneſs*, hereby, 'tis likely, the Divine Powers adviſed the City at this time, to be *quiet*.

Meton. Whether therefore, the Aſtrologer *Meton* feared theſe Preſages, or that from Humane Reaſon he doubted the Succeſs (for he was appointed a Commander) he feigning himſelf mad, ſet his Houſe on fire. Others ſay, he did not counterfeit himſelf Mad, but ſet his Houſe on fire in the Night, and the next Morning went into the Court in woful plight, and beſeeched the People in Conſideration of the ſad Diſaſter to releaſe his Son from the Service, who was about to go Captain of a Gally for *Sicily*.

Socrates *his* Genius. Moreover the *Genius* of the Wiſe *Socrates*, by the uſual Tokens revealed all this to him, and that this Expedition would prove the Ruin of the Common-wealth; the which he imparted again to his Friends and Familiars, and afterwards it ſpread about amongſt the People.

And not a few were troubled, becauſe of the days on which the Fleet ſet Sail, it hap'ning to be at that time when the Women celebrated the Funeral of *Adonis*; there being every where then expoſed to view

view Images of dead Men carried about with Mourning and Lamentation, and Women beating their Breasts: So that such as lay any stress on these Matters were extreamly troubled; and feared lest that all these warlike Preparations so Splendid and so Glorious, should suddenly in a little time be blasted, and come to nothing.

Now for *Nicias*, in that he opposed the Voting of this Expedition, and neither was puft up with Hopes, nor transported with the Honour of his high Command, he shew'd himself Wise, and a Man of Constancy: But when his Endeavours could not divert the People from the War, nor get leave himself to be discharged of the Command, but the People as it were violently forced him against his Will to be their General, this was no longer now a time for his mighty Caution, and his Delays, or for him (even like a Child) to look back from the Ship, often repeating, and reflecting over and over again, how that *he had not been over-ruled by Reasons*, thereby blunting the Courage of his Fellow-Commanders, and losing the nick of time for Action. Whereas he ought presently to have rusht upon the Enemy, brought the matter to an issue, and thrown all upon Fortune immediately.

But when *Lamachus* had counsell'd to

Sail directly to *Syracuſe*, and give the Enemy Battel under their City-Walls: And *Alcibiades* adviſed to cut off their Communication with the other Towns, and then to march againſt them; *Nicias* diſſented from them both, and ſtifly inſiſted that they ſhould cruiſe around the Iſland, and Alarm the Coaſts, and, having Landed a ſmall ſupply of Men for the *Egeſteans*, return to *Athens*. Thus he diſtracted their Counſels, and caſt down the Spirits of the Men.

And a little while after, (the *Athenians* having called home *Alcibiades* in Order to his Tryal) he being, tho' joyned with another in Commiſſion, in effect the only General, made now no end of Loytering, of Cruiſing, and Conſidering, 'till their Hopes were grown ſtale, and all the Diſorder and Conſternation which the firſt approach and view of their Forces had caſt amongſt the Enemy was worn off, and had left them.

Whilſt yet *Alcibiades* was with the Fleet, they went before *Syracuſe* with a Squadron of ſixty Gallies, fifty of them were kept in Battalia without the Haven, the other ten forced their way in to make Diſcovery. And by an Herald they demanded the *Leontins* to be ſent home.

Theſe Scouts took a Gally of the Enemies,

mies, wherein they found certain Tablets, on which was ſet down a Liſt of all the *Syracuſians*, according to their Tribes. Theſe were wont to be laid up remote from the City in the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, but were now brought forth to furniſh a Muſter-Roll of young Men for the War. Theſe being ſo taken by the *Athenians*, and carried to the Officers, and the Multitude of Names appearing, the *Divines* put an ill Conſtruction upon't, as if hereby were fulfilll'd the Old Prophecy, That *the Athenians ſhall take all the* Syracuſians. Yet indeed this was ſaid to be accompliſht by the *Athenians* at another bout, that time when *Callippus* the *Athenian* having ſlain *Dion*, held *Syracuſe*.

But when *Alcibiades* and a few with him were ſhipt off from *Sicily*, the Command fell wholly to *Nicias*; for *Lamachus* handled his Weapon in fight with great Dexterity, was ſtout, and very honeſt, yet ſo extreamly Poor and Low, that as often as the *Athenians* beſtowed on him a Command, he would always to their Account bring ſome little reckoning or other of Mony for his very Cloaths, and Shoos to his Feet. On the contrary, *Nicias*, as in other matters, in Riches and Oſtentation carried it high. Lamachus.

'Tis ſaid that once upon a time, the chief Magiſtrates being in Conſultation together, he bid *Sophocles* the Poet ſpeak his Opinion firſt, as the Ancienteſt Magiſtrate, *I* (quoth he) *am indeed before you in Years, but you are the firſt in Authority and Honour.*

So here having *Lamachus*, that better underſtood Military Affairs, at under; and evermore delaying and dodging, and faintly employing his Forces: Firſt, his Sailing about *Sicily*, at the greateſt diſtance aloof from the Enemy, then afterwards beſieging *Hyble* a ſmall pitiful Town, and drawing off before he could take it, rendered him extreamly deſpicable; at the length he retreats to *Catana* without having atchieved any thing, ſave that he demoliſht *Hyccara*, a little poor quarter of the *Barbarians*, where 'tis reported that *Lais* the Harlot, whilſt yet a Maiden, was ſold amongſt the other Slaves, and carried thence away to *Peloponeſus*.

But when the Summer was ſpent, after that it was noiſed about that the *Syracuſians* were grown ſo Cock-a-hoop, that they would come, and firſt to attack him: And the Troopers skirmiſhing to the very Camp twitted them, asking, *Whether they came to Penſion with the* Cataneans? *Or they came to put again the* Leontins *in Poſſeſſion of*

*of their Houſes?* Now it was that with much ado *Nicias* reſolved to ſit down before *Syracuſe.*

And to the end he might ſafely and without Moleſtation form his Camp, he ſent a Man, as a Runagade from *Catana*, with Intelligence to the *Syracuſians*, *That They might ſeize the* Athenian *Camp void of Men, and all their Arms, if they on ſuch a day march with all their Forces to* Catana; And, *That the* Athenians *living moſtwhat in the Town, the Friends of the* Syracuſians *had contrived ſo ſoon as they ſhould perceive them coming, to poſſeſs themſelves of one of the Gates, and to fire the Navy, that many now were in the Conſpiracy, and waited their Arrival.*

*Nicias* ſhow'd good Conduct in this only Inſtance of all the *Sicilian* Expedition; for having drawn away all the ſtrength of the Enemy, and made the City quite deſtitute of Men, he ſet out from *Catana*, he entered the Haven, and he choſe a fit place for his Camp, where the Enemy could not incommode him, with that wherein lay their Excellency, but in thoſe things wherein he had the Advantage, he might expect to maul them without Impediment.

When the *Syracuſians* returned from *Catana*, and ſtood in Battel Array before

the City-Gates, he on the ſudden drawing forth the *Athenians*, fell on them and defeated them; yet he ſlew not many, the Horſe hindering their Purſuit. But his cutting and breaking down the Bridges that lay over the River, gave *Hermocrates* (heartning the *Syracuſians*) occaſion to ſay, That, Nicias *was ridiculous, whoſe great Conduct is to avoid fighting, as if fighting were not the thing he came for.*

However he caſt the *Syracuſians* into a grievous Fright and Conſternation, ſo that in the ſtead of fifteen Generals then in Service, they choſe three others to whom the People engaged by Oath to let them Command abſolute.

There was nigh them a Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, which the *Athenians* (there being in it many Conſecrated things of Gold and Silver) had a great mind to take, which *Nicias* induſtriouſly delaying, loſt the Opportunity, and let a Garriſon of the *Syracuſians* enter it, he judging that if the Soldiers ſhould make Booty of that Wealth, 'twou'd be no manner of Advantage to the Publick, and he ſhould bear the Infamy of the Impiety.

But *Nicias*, not improving in the leaſt his Victory, that had made ſo much noiſe every where, after a few days ſtay, whip away goes he to *Naxus*, there Winters

ters with ſuch an Army upon exceſſive Charges, and performs little of moment with ſome *Siculians* revolted to him.

Inſomuch that the *Syracuſians* took Heart again, made Excurſions to *Catana*, waſted the Country, and fired the Camp of the *Athenians*. Now every Body blam'd *Nicias* as who with his Argumentations, his Conſiderations, and his mighty Cautions had let ſlip the time for Action. None ever found fault with the Man when once ſet a going, for in the brunt he was brisk and active, but was ſlow, and wanted aſſurance to engage. When therefore he brought again the Army to *Syracuſe*, ſuch was his Conduct, and with ſuch both Celerity and Safety he came upon them, that no Body knew of his Arrival with the Gallies at *Thapſus*, of his Deſcent, nor his Surpriſal of *Epipolæ*: Then beat he the choiceſt Regiments, took three hundred Priſoners, and routed the Cavalry of the Enemy, which were thought invincible.

But that which chiefly aſtoniſh'd the *Syracuſians*, and ſeemed incredible to the *Grecians*, was, in ſo little time the walling about of *Syracuſe*, a Town not leſs than *Athens*, but far more Difficult, by the unevenneſs of the Ground, the nearneſs of

of the Sea, and the Mariſhes adjacent, to have ſuch a Wall drawn in a Circle round it. Yet this, all within a very little, finiſh'd by a Man that had not his Health competent for ſo weighty Cares, but lay ill of the Stone: Which may juſtly be blam'd for what was left undone. I admire the Toyl of the General, and the Bravery of the Soldiers, for what they performed. *Eurypides* after their Rout and Diſaſter, writing their Funeral Elegy, thus Sang,

*Theſe did eight times the* Syracuſians *Foyl,*
*But then the Gods ſtood Neuter all the while.*

And in Truth one ſhall not find eight, but many more Victories won by theſe Men againſt the *Syracuſians*; 'till the Gods or Fortune plainly gave a Check to the *Athenians*, when lifted to the top of their Power and Greatneſs.

*Nicias* therefore doing Violence to his Body was preſent in moſt Actions.

But when his Diſeaſe was the ſharpeſt upon him, he lay in the Camp with ſome few Servants to attend him. And *Lamachus* having the Command, fought the *Syracuſians* (who were bringing a Croſs-Wall from the City, along to that of the *Athenians*, to hinder them from carrying it round)

round) and in the Victory, the *Athenians* hurrying in ſome Diſorder to the purſuit, *Lamachus*, left alone, withſtood the *Syracuſian* Horſe that came upon him; before the reſt advanced, *Callicrates*, a Man of good Courage and Mettle, *Lamachus* upon the Challenge engaged with him in ſingle Combat, who received the firſt Wound, yet returned it ſo home to *Callicrates*, that they both fell down and dyed together.

And now the *Syracuſians* took away the Body and Arms of *Lamachus*, and in great haſte march'd to the Wall of the *Athenians*, where *Nicias* lay without any Guards, yet rouzed by this Neceſſity, and beholding the Danger, he bid thoſe about him go and ſet on fire all the Wood and Materials that lay provided before the Wall for the Engines, and the Engines themſelves; this put a ſtop to the *Syracuſians*, ſaved *Nicias*, ſaved the Walls, and all the Mony of the *Athenians*. For when the *Syracuſians* ſaw ſo much Fire flaming in the middle of them, they wheeled off.

Now whilſt theſe Things were Atchieved, *Nicias* only was left of all the Generals, and he began to conceive great Hopes, for the Cities revolted to him, and Ships laden with Corn from every Coaſt came to the Camp, every one favouring when Matters went well. And now ſome Diſcourſes

Diſcourſes paſt amongſt the *Syracuſians* (deſpairing to defend the City) about a Treaty with him.

And when *Gylippus*, who came with a Squadron to their aid from *Lacedemon*, heard on Board of the Wall ſurrounding them, and of their Streights, he ſo ſteered for the reſt, as that giving *Sicily* for loſt, he might now, if poſſible, ſecure the *Italians* their Cities. For a ſtrong report was every where ſpread about, that the *Athenians* carried all before them; and had now a General for Conduct, and for Fortune invincible.

And *Nicias* himſelf now againſt his Nature, grown Preſumptuous in his preſent Strength and Succeſs (eſpecially from the Intelligence he received under-hand of the *Syracuſians*, believing they would ſurrender the Town upon Terms) had no manner of regard to *Gylippus* coming to their Aſſiſtance, nor ſet out any Scouts to purpoſe; ſo that neglected altogether, and deſpiſed, *Gylippus* went in a long Boat aſhore, without the knowledge of *Nicias*; and having Landed in the remoteſt Parts from *Syracuſe*, he muſtered up a great Army, the *Syracuſians* neither knowing of his Arrival, nor expecting him: So that an Aſſembly was Summoned in order to a Parley with *Nicias*, and ſome were haſty to

Gylippus.

to have all diſpatched, before the Town ſhould be quite walled round, for now remained very little to be done, and the Materials lay all ready on the place.

In this very nick of Time and Danger, arrived *Gongylus* in one Gally from *Corinth*, and every one (as you may imagine) flocking about him, he told them that *Gylippus* would be with them ſpeedily, and other Ships to relieve them. Now, e'er they could perfectly believe *Gongylus*, an Expreſs was brought from *Gylippus*, to bid them go forth to meet him: So now plucking up a good Heart they took Arms; and *Gylippus* was preſently upon the March, and by the way ranged them in Battel-Array againſt the *Athenians*, as *Nicias* alſo embattled theſe. And *Gylippus* in view of the *Athenians* laying down his Arms, ſent an Herald to tell them, *He would give them leave with Bag and Baggage to depart quietly from* Sicily. To this *Nicias* would not vouchſafe any Anſwer, but ſome of his Soldiers laughing, askt *if with the ſight of one Cloak and* Laconian *Staff, the* Syracuſian *Matters were ſo well hop'd up, in the turn of an hand to deſpiſe the* Athenians, *who had releaſed to the* Lacedemonians *three hundred, whom they held in Chains, Goodlier Men then* Gylippus, *and with longer Locks? Timæus* alſo

alſo writes, That even the *Syracuſians* made no Account of *Gylippus*, at the firſt ſight drolling upon his Staff and long Hair, as afterwards they hated his Avarice and narrow Spirit.

The ſame Author ſays, That *Gylippus* appearing, many came fluttering about him, as it were ſome Owl, and were liſted under him. And this is more like the Truth than what was ſaid before; for in the Staff and the Cloak beholding the Badge and Authority of *Sparta*, they crowded to him; and *Thucydides* affirms, that all the Work was done by him alone; ſo does *Philiſtus*, who was a *Syracuſian*, and a Spectator of all that paſt.

However the *Athenians* had the better of the firſt Encounter, and ſlew ſome few of the *Syracuſians*, amongſt whom was *Gongylus* of *Corinth*. Yet the next Day, *Gylippus* ſhew'd what it is to be a Man of Experience, for with the ſame Arms, the ſame Horſes, and on the ſame ſpot of Ground, changing only the Figure of the Battel, he overcame the *Athenians*; and they fleeing to their Camp, he ſet the *Syracuſians* to work, and with the Stone and Materials, that had been brought together for finiſhing the Wall of the *Athenians*, he built a Croſs-Wall to intercept theirs and break it down, ſo as nought re-

remained to them of all their Toyl.

Hereupon the *Syracuſians* taking Courage, manned out their Gallies, and with their Horſe and Followers ranging about, they gathered up a great many Priſoners, and *Gylippus* going himſelf to the Cities, ſtirred and inſtigated them, who all heard him readily and took Arms. So that *Nicias* fell again to his old Conſiderations, and, ſeeing the Face of Affairs change, he deſponded, and writ to *Athens*, bidding them *ſend either another Army, or rather recal this out of* Sicily; *that he might however be wholly diſcharged of the Command, becauſe of his Diſeaſe.*

Before this, the *Athenians* had been very hot of ſending another Army to *Sicily*, but Envy of *Nicias*'s former great Atchievements and Succeſs, caſt in many Delays: 'Till now that they were all for haſtening away Recruits. *Eurymedon* went before, in Mid-Winter, with Mony, and to declare *Euthydemus* and *Menander*, (choſen out of thoſe that ſerved there under *Nicias*) to be joint Commanders with him, *Demoſthenes* was to go after in the Spring with a great Navy.

In the mean time *Nicias* was briskly attack'd both by Sea and Land; in the beginning he had the diſadvantage in his Shipping, yet did he deſtroy and ſink many Gallies

Gallies of the Enemy. But by Land, he could not provide ſuccour in time, ſo *Gylippus* fell upon, and ſurprized *Plemmyrion* at the firſt Aſſault, in which the Stores for the Navy, and a great ſum of Mony (being there kept) was all loſt, many there he ſlew, and took others Priſoners. What was of greateſt importance, he cut off the Proviſions from *Nicias*, which were ſafely and readily convey'd to him whilſt the *Athenians* held *Plemmyrion*; they being beaten out, he could not be ſupplyed but with great Difficulty, and with fighting the Enemy, who rid at Anchor under that Fort.

And now it ſeemed manifeſt to the *Syracuſians* that their Navy had not been beaten by Strength, but by their Diſorder in the Purſuit: Now therefore all hands went to work to fit out a gallanter Fleet than the former, however *Nicias* had no Stomach to a Sea-fight, but ſaid, *'twas madneſs for them (when* Demoſthenes *was coming in all haſte with ſo great a Fleet and freſh Forces to their Recruit) to engage the Enemy with a leſs number of Ships and ill provided.* On the contrary, *Menander* and *Euthydemus* puft up with their new Command, let looſe their Ambition and Envy againſt both the Old Generals: They were for preventing *Demoſthenes* by ſome

ſome brave action before his coming; and were for doing ſomething beyond *Nicias*, they pretended *the honour of the City, which* (ſaid they) *would be blemiſh'd and utterly loſt, if they ſhould be afraid of the* Syracuſians *who dared them to Battel.*

Thus they forced *Nicias* to a Sea-fight. And by a Stratagem of *Ariſton*, who commanded the *Corinthian* Gallies, they in the left Wing (as *Thucydides* tells us) were worſted, and loſt many of their Men.

Hereupon *Nicias* was overwhelmed with deſpair, beaten when he had the ſole Command, and again miſcarrying with his Companions.

But now by this time was diſcovered before the Haven *Demoſthenes*, moſt ſplendidly equipt, and terrible to behold. He brought along, in ſeventy three Gallies, five thouſand Men of Arms; of Darters, Archers, and Slingers, not leſs than three thouſand, with the glittering of their Armour, the Flags and Streamers waving in the Air from the Gallies, the multitude of Trumpeters, and Minſtrels, and Hoboys, and ſet off with all the Warlike Pomp and Oſtentation to diſmay the Enemy.

Now (one may believe) the *Syracuſians* were again in a deadly fright, ſeeing

no end nor expectation, but toyling in vain, and periſhing to no purpoſe.

But *Nicias* was not long overjoyed for this Reinforcement, for the firſt time he came to ſpeech with *Demoſthenes* (who adviſed *forthwith to attack the* Syracuſians, *and ſpeedily to put all to the hazard; to win* Syracuſe, *and return home*) afraid, and wondring at his briskneſs and temerity, he beſeeched him *to do nothing raſhly and deſperately, ſeeing that delay would be the ruin of the Enemy, whoſe Mony would not hold out, nor their Confederates be long kept together; that when once they came to be pinch'd with want, they would again preſently ſeek to him for Terms, as formerly; that many in* Syracuſe, *who held ſecret correſpondence with him, wiſh'd him to ſtay, in regard they were tyred with the War, nor could endure* Gylippus *longer: And if their neceſſities ſhould the leaſt ſharpen upon them, they would give up all.*

*Nicias*, glancing darkly at theſe matters, and partly unwilling to ſpeak out plainly, put the Captains to imagine that it was pure Cowardize which made him talk in this manner: And they (ſaying *that he was now again upon the relapſe to his old Cautions and Shifts, and trifling, whereby he let ſlip the opportunity, in not immediately falling on the Enemy, but ſuffering his*

*his Men to cool, and to grow Contemptible*) ſtuck to *Demoſthenes*, and with much ado forced *Nicias* to comply.

Hereupon *Demoſthenes* with a Party of Foot by night, made an Aſſault upon *Epipolæ*, part of the Enemy he ſlew e'er they took the Alarm; the reſt defending themſelves he put to flight. Nor was he content with this Victory there, but puſh'd on further 'till he fell among the *Bœotians*; for theſe were the firſt that made head againſt the *Athenians*, and after a great ſhout warmly charged them with puſh of Pike, and killed many on the place. And now was there nothing but horror and confuſion throughout the whole Army, the body that ſtood involved with thoſe that fled, they that defended, and thoſe who came round falling foul together knock'd one another down, taking them in the purſuit for thoſe that fled, and handling their Friends as if they were the Enemy.

For jumbled thus in diſorder, diſtracted with blind fear and uncertainties, and diſcerning falſe, the Night not being abſolutely dark, nor yielding any ſteady light, the Moon then towards ſetting, ſhadowed with many Weapons and Bodies that moved to and fro, and glimmering ſo as not to ſhow an Object plain, but to make through fear

a Familiar ſuſpected for a Foe; which caſt the *Athenians* into horrid difficulties and deſpair.

Beſides all this they had the Moon on their Backs, whereby they ſhaded one another, and both hid their numbers and the glittering of their Arms; but the reflection of the Moon from the ſhields of the Enemy made them ſhow more numerous, and better appointed than indeed they were.

Laſtly, being preſt on every ſide where they had retreated, they took the rout; and in their flight ſome were deſtroyed by the Enemy, ſome fell by the hand of their Friends, and ſome tumbled down the Rocks: Thoſe that were diſperſt and ſtragled in the fields, were pick'd up in the Morning by the Horſemen, and put to the Sword; the ſlain were two thouſand; of the reſt few came off ſafe with their Arms.

Upon this Diſaſter *Nicias*, ſtruck as might be expected, accuſed the Raſhneſs of *Demoſthenes*; but he coloured it over, and adviſed *to be gone in all haſte; for neither were other Forces to come, nor the Enemy to be beaten with the preſent; or ſuppoſing they were yet too hard for the Enemy, however they ought to remove, and avoid that place, being always accounted a ſickly*

*ſickly place, and dangerous for an Army; eſpecially now, becauſe of the Seaſon, being (as they ſee by experience) Pernicious.* It was the beginning of *Autumn*, and many now lay ſick, and all were out of heart.

It grieved *Nicias* to hear of flight, and departing home, not that he did not fear the *Syracuſians*, but he was worſe afraid of the *Athenians*, their Impeachments, and Sentence, therefore he made as if he apprehended nothing farther there; or, ſhould ought happen, better dye by the hand of an Enemy, than by his Fellow-Citizens.

He was not of the Opinion which afterwards *Leo* of *Byzantium* declared to his Fellow-Citizens, *I had rather* (ſaid he) *periſh by you, than with you.*

*Nicias* therefore, for the matter of place and quarter whither to remove their Camp, ſay'd, *that might be debated at leiſure*: And *Demoſthenes*, his former Counſel having ſucceeded ſo ill, ceaſed to preſs him farther; others thought *Nicias* expected, and had aſſurance from ſome Body within the City, which made him ſo ſtoutly oppoſe their Retreat, ſo they did acquieſce. But another Army coming to the *Syracuſians*, and the Sickneſs raging in his Camp, he alſo now approved of

their Retreat; and commanded the Soldiers to make ready to go aboard.

And when all were in readineſs, and none of the Enemy had obſerved them, not expecting ſuch a thing, the Moon fell Eclips'd in the night, to the great fright of *Nicias*, and of others who for want of Experience, or out of Superſtition, are ſcar'd with theſe Appearances. That the Sun would be dark'ned about the thirtieth day of the Month by the Moon going between, this even the ordinary People now well enough underſtood; but the Moon it ſelf to be darkned, how that could come about, and how on the ſudden a broad full Moon ſhould loſe all her Light, and ſhow ſuch various colours, that was not eaſy to be comprehended: But they concluded it *to be Ominous, and a ſign from God of heavy Calamities to enſue.*

*An Eclipſe.*

For he who the firſt, and the moſt plainly of any, and with the greateſt aſſurance committed to writing how the Moon is enlightned and overſhadowed, was *Anaxagoras*; yet neither was he ancient, nor his Notion much taken notice of, but was look'd upon as Heterodox, and kept ſecret, paſſing only amongſt a few under ſome kind of Caution and Confidence. For they would not ſuffer Naturaliſts and μετεωρολέχας, as they then called

called them, that is, *ſuch who diſpute of things above*; as leſſening the Divine Power, by deducing things from Natural ſenſeleſs Cauſes, and a long Chain of Neceſſity, without any thing of Providence, or a free Agent.

Hence it was that *Protagoras* was Baniſh'd, and *Anaxagoras* caſt in Priſon, *Pericles* had very much ado to procure his Liberty; and *Socrates*, tho' he medled not at all in this ſort of Learning, yet was put to Death for Philoſophy.

At the length the Reputation of *Plato* ſhining forth by his Life, and becauſe he ſubjected Natural Neceſſity to a divine and more excellent Principle, he wiped off the Obloquy and Scandal from theſe Contemplations, and made way for the Mathematicks to all People. So his Friend *Dion*, when the Moon (at the time he was to embark from *Zacynthus* to go againſt *Dyoniſius*) was Eclips'd, was not in the leaſt diſturbed, but went on, and arriving at *Syracuſe*, drove away the Tyrant.

But it ſo fell out with *Nicias*, that he had not at this time a skilful *Divine* with him; for his Domeſtick (and who took off much of his Superſtition) *Stilbides* dyed a little before.

However, this Prodigy (as *Philochorus* ſaith) could not be unlucky to them that

flee, but ſurely very favourable; for things done in fear require to be hidden, for the Light is their Foe.

Nor was it uſual to obſerve the Sun or Moon more three than Days, as *Autoclides* has related in his Commentaries: But *Nicias* perſwaded them to wait another courſe of the Moon; as if he had not preſently ſeen it clear again, after it paſſed the ſhady place, that the Light was no longer obſtructed by the Earth.

Yet he in a manner abandoning all other cares, betook himſelf wholly to his Sacrifices; 'till the Enemy came upon them, with their Infantry beſieging the Forts and Camp, and drew their Ships in a circle about the Harbour. Nor did they from they Gallies only, but the little Boys every where got into Cock-boats and rowed about, provoking the *Athenians*, and inſulting over them. Amongſt theſe a Youth of Noble Parentage, *Heraclides* by Name, having launch'd out before the reſt, an *Athenian* Ship purſued and well nigh took him, his Unkle *Pollichus*, in fear for him, made out with ten Gallies whereof he had the Command, and the reſt, to relieve *Pollichus*, in like manner drew forth, which brought on a very ſharp Engagement; wherein the *Syracuſians* had the Victory, and ſlew *Eurymedon*, with many others.

Here

Hereupon the *Athenian* Soldiers had no patience to ſtay longer, but mutinied againſt their Officers, requiring them to depart by Land; for the *Syracuſians* upon their Victory, immediately ſhut and lock'd up the Entrance of the Harbour; but *Nicias* would not conſent to this, for it was a ſhameful thing to leave behind ſo many Ships of burthen, and Gallies little leſs than two hundred; putting therefore on Board the beſt of the Foot, and the luſtieſt Darters, they filled one hundred and ten Gallies; the reſt wanted Oars: The remainder of his Army, *Nicias* poſted along by the Sea-ſide, deſerting the great Camp, and Walls that reach'd to *Hercules*'s Temple.

So the *Syracuſians* not having of a long time performed their uſual Sacrifice to *Hercules*, went up now both Prieſts and Captains to Sacrifice; And now their Gallies being manned, the *Divines* predicted from their Sacrifice, *Victory and Glory to the* Syracuſians, *provided they would not be the Aggreſſors, but fight upon the Defenſive*; for ſo *Hercules* overcame all, by only defending himſelf when ſet upon.

In this Confidence they ſet out: And this proved the hotteſt and fierceſt of all their Sea-fights; raiſing no leſs concern

and

and Paſſion in the Beholders than in the Actors; becauſe they might overſee the whole Action, with all the various turns ſo ſudden, and unexpected; wherein the *Athenians* ſuffered no leſs from their own Preparations, than from the Enemy; for they fought againſt light nimble Ships, with theirs laden, heavy, and at every turn falling foul on one another. And they were thrown at with Stones that fly indifferently any way, for which were returned Darts and Arrows, which glancing on the Waves, no longer fly point blank or regard the Mark at which they were levell'd.

*Ariſton*, a *Corinthian* Captain, taught this the *Syracuſians*, who fighting ſtoutly fell himſelf in this very Engagement, even whilſt the *Syracuſians* had the Victory.

The *Athenians*, their Loſs and Slaughter being very great, their flight by Sea cut off, their ſafety by Land ſo difficult, did neither hinder the Enemy towing away their Ships, from under their Noſes, nor demanded their Dead, judging their want of Burial a leſs Calamity than the leaving behind the ſick and the wounded; all this they had before their Eyes, yet far more miſerable than thoſe did they reckon themſelves who were to work yet thorow more

ſuch

ſuch Evils, after all to make certainly the ſame end.

Now the *Athenians* prepared to diſlodge that Night.

*Gylippus* ſeeing the *Syracuſians* faſt at their Sacrifice and their Cups for their Victories, and it being alſo a Holiday, expected not either by Perſwaſion or by Force to rouze them up, and carry them againſt the *Athenians* as they decamp'd. But *Hermocrates* of his own Head put a trick upon *Nicias*; ſending ſome of his Companions to him, that pretended *they came from thoſe that were wont to hold ſecret Intelligence with him, to adviſe him not to ſtir that Night, the* Syracuſians *having laid Ambuſhes, and all beſet the Ways.*

*Nicias*, caught with this Stratagem, did ſimply ſtay; as if he feared leſt that he ſhould not feel the Enemy effectually. For they the next Morning marching before ſeized the Paſſes, fortified where the Rivers were fordable, cut down the Bridges, and ordered their Horſemen to range the Plains and Ground that lay open, ſo as to leave no manner of way for the *Athenians* to move without fighting.

They ſtay'd both that Day, and another Night, then went along as if they were leaving their own, not an Enemies Country, lamenting

lamenting and howling for want of Neceſſaries, and for their parting from Friends and Familiars that were not able to help themſelves; and likewiſe judging the preſent Evils lighter than thoſe they expected to come.

But among the many miſerable Spectacles that appeared up and down in the Camp, the ſaddeſt ſight of all was *Nicias* himſelf, labouring under his Malady, and unworthily reduced to extream want of all Accommodations neceſſary for his Condition, which required more than ordinary, becauſe of his Sickneſs; yet he bore up under all this Illneſs, and underwent more than many in perfect Health could be able to endure: And it was plainly evident, that all this Toyl was not for himſelf, or from any regard to his own Life, but purely for their ſake under his Command, he would not abandon hope.

And indeed the reſt were given over to weeping and lamentation thro' fear or ſorrow, but he, whenever forced thereunto, 'twas manifeſt, he reflected on the Shame and Diſhonour of this Adventure, ſet againſt the Greatneſs and Glory he had expected to win.

Not only beholding his Perſon, but calling to mind his words, and the diſſwaſions he uſed to prevent this Expedition, they reckoned

reckoned that ſo much the leſs did he deſerve to be thus wretched.

And they had no heart to put their truſt in the Gods, conſidering that a Man ſo religious, who had performed to the Powers Divine ſo many, and ſo great acts of Devotion; ſhould have no more favourable Succeſs than the wickedeſt and meaneſt Fellow of the whole Army.

*Nicias* however endeavoured all the while by his Voice, his Countenance, and his Carriage to be above theſe Misfortunes. And, all along the way pelted at, and receiving wounds eight days continually from the Enemy, yet preſerved he the Forces with him in a Body entire, 'till that *Demoſthenes* was taken Priſoner.

The Party that he led, whilſt they fought and made a ſtout reſiſtance, were at the Village *Polyzelia* hemmed in; *Demoſthenes* thereupon drew his Sword, and ſmote, but killing not himſelf, the Enemy preſently running in and ſeizing upon him.

So ſoon as the *Syracuſians* had gone and informed *Nicias* of this, and he ſent ſome Horſe, and by them knew the certainty of that Armies defeat, he then vouchſafed to ſue to *Gylippus* for a Truce, for *the* Athenians *to depart out of* Sicily, *leaving Hoſtages for the Mony that the* Syracuſians *had expended in that War.*

But

But now they would not hear of these Propoſals, but threatning them in great fury and ſtorm, and upbraiding them, let fly at them deſtitute of all things neceſſary. Yet *Nicias* made good his Retreat all that night, and the next day through all their darts held on his way to the River *Aſſinarus*, there the Enemy encountering them, drove ſome into the ſtream, others ready to dye for thirſt plunged in headlong, there drinking and drowning with the ſame labour. And here was the cruelleſt and the moſt immoderate ſlaughter.

'Till *Nicias* falling down to *Gylippus*, *Let Pity* (*O* Gylippus) ſay'd he, *move you in your Victory; not for me, who have ſome Glory, and Name from ſuch like Miſfortunes, but for the other* Athenians; *you well know that the chance of War is common to all; And the* Athenians *uſed it moderately and mildly towards you in their proſperity.*

At theſe words, and at the ſight of *Nicias*, *Gylippus* was ſomewhat troubled, for he was ſenſible that the *Lacedemonians* had received good Offices from *Nicias* in the late Treaty: And he thought it a great and glorious Action, to carry off the chief Commanders of the *Athenians* alive: Wherefore he received *Nicias* with reſpect, and *bidhim be of good Cheer*: And commanded

manded his Men to ſpare the Lives of the reſt; but the word of Command being communicated ſlowly, the ſlain were far the greater Number than the Priſoners. Yet many were privily conveyed away by particular Soldiers, thoſe taken openly were hurried together on heaps; their Arms and Spoils hung up on the goodlieſt and the faireſt Trees all along the River; The Conquerors crowned, their Horſes ſplendidly adorned, with thoſe of their Enemy cropt, and cut bare, entered the City; having in the Nobleſt Conteſt, wag'd by *Greeks* againſt *Greeks*, and with the greateſt ſtrength, and the utmoſt effort of Valour and Manhood, won a moſt entire Victory.

And a general Aſſembly of the People of *Syracuſe* and their Confederates ſitting, *Euricles*, a leading Man moved firſt, *That the Day on which they took* Nicias *ſhould from thence-forward be kept Holy-day, by ſacrificing, and forbearing all manner of Work; and from the River, be called, the* Aſinarian *Feaſt.* This was the twenty ſixth day of the Month of *July*. *And that the Servants of the* Athenians, *and the other Confederates be ſold for Slaves, themſelves and the* Sicilian *Auxiliaries to be kept and employed in the Quarries; except the Captains, and they to be put to Death.*

As

As the *Syracuſians* debated theſe matters, *Hermocrates* ſaying, *that to uſe well a Victory, was better than to gain a Victory*; they, in a great hubbub rebuked him warmly.

And *Gylippus* demanding the *Athenian* Generals to be delivered to him, that he might carry them to the *Lacedemonians*, the *Syracuſians*, now inſolent with their good fortune, gave him ill words.

Yet before this, even in the War, they hardly endured his auſtere carriage, and *Lacedemonian* haughtineſs: And (as *Timæus* tells us) they condemned in him, his Sordidneſs and Avarice, an hereditary Vice: For which alſo his Father *Cleandrides*, convicted of bribery was baniſh'd; And this very Man, of the one thouſand Talents which *Lyſander* ſent to *Sparta*, embezell'd thirty, and hid them under the tyles of his houſe, which being detected, he moſt ſhamefully ran his Country. But theſe matters are more at large handled in the Life of *Lyſander*. *Timæus* does not ſay that *Demoſthenes* and *Nicias* were ſtoned to death, as *Thucydides* and *Philiſtus* have left written, but that upon a Meſſage from *Hermocrates* (whilſt yet the Aſſembly were ſitting) admitted to them by ſome of the Guards, they ſlew themſelves; and their Bodies thrown out before the Gates, lay open for a publick Spectacle. I

I have heard that now to this Day in a Temple at *Syracuſe*, is ſhown a Shield, ſaid to have been *Nicias*'s, with Gold and Purple curiouſly wrought and embroidered. Moſt of the *Athenians* periſh'd in the Quarries by Diſeaſes and ill Diet, allowed only two Pints of Barley every Day, and one of Water. Many of them were carried off by ſtealth and ſold, or concealed amongſt the Slaves, and ſold as Slaves, having mark'd an Horſe on their Foreheads, which they ſuffered over and above their Slavery.

But their Modeſty and handſome Carriage was an Advantage to them; for they were either ſoon ſet Free, or winning Reſpect, continued with thoſe who poſſeſſed them.

Several amongſt them were ſaved for the ſake of *Eurypides*; for of all the Inland *Grecians*, his *Muſe* (it ſeems) was of higheſt Eſteem with the Men of *Sicily*. And when any Travellers arrived, that could tell them ſome Copy, or give them any taſte of his Verſes, they lovingly communicated them to one another. Many of thoſe that were preſerv'd, are ſaid, after they got home, to have gone and made their Acknowledgments to *Eurypides*, relating how that ſome of them had been releaſed from their Slavery, by teaching

what they could remember of his Poems, and others when ſtraggling after the Fight, been relieved with Meat and Drink for repeating ſome of his Lines. Nor need this be any wonder, for 'tis reported that a Ship of *Caunus* fleeing into their Harbour for protection, purſued by Pyrats, was not received but forced back, 'till one asked if that had any of *Eurypides*'s Verſes, who ſaying *they had*, they were admitted, and their Ship brought into Harbour.

'Tis ſaid that the *Athenians*, chiefly becauſe of the Reporter, could not believe their Loſs; for a certain Stranger (it ſeems) coming to *Peiræum*, and there ſitting in a Barber's Shop, and talking of what had happen'd, let fall ſome Words, as if the *Athenians* already knew all that had paſt; which the Barber hearing, before he acquainted any Body elſe, he ran in all haſte up into the City, applied himſelf to the *Archons*, and preſently ſpread it all about. Whereupon there being every where (as may be imagin'd) great Fear and Conſternation, the *Archons* ſummoned a general Aſſembly, and there brought in the Man, and queſtioned him how he came to know thoſe Things; And he, giving no ſatisfactory Account, was taken for a Spreader of falſe News, and one that troubled the City; and was therefore faſtened to the Wheel, and

and Rack'd a long time, 'till other Meſſengers arrived that related the whole Diſaſter particularly. Thus at the length was *Nicias* believed, ſuffering what he ſo often had foretold.

# THE LIFE OF *MARCUS CRASSUS.*

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

Tranſlated from the *Greek*,

By Mr. *AMHURST.*

VOLUME III.

*Marcus Craſſus*, whoſe Father had born the Office of a Cenſor, and received the Honour of a Triumph, was educated in a little Houſe together with his two Brothers, who both married in their Parents Life-time, and they kept but one Table amongſt them all, which (perhaps) was not the leaſt reaſon of this Man's Temperance and Moderation in Diet; but one of his Brothers dying,

# MARCUS CRASSUS.




This is ye certain ffate of Avarice,
Like Dropsy Patients, Crassus drinks, and dys.


BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA

dying, he married his Widow, by whom he had his Children; neither was he, as to this, leſs continent than any of the *Romans*, though when he was grown up, he was ſuſpected to have been familiar with one of the Veſtal Virgins, named *Licinia*, who was nevertheleſs acquitted, one *Plotinus* managing the Evidence againſt her. Now this *Licinia* ſtood poſſeſſed of a fair Country Seat, which *Craſſus* deſiring to purchaſe at an under rate, he was always lying at her, and attending of her, and this gave occaſion to the Scandal; but he likewiſe was acquitted, his Avarice in ſome meaſure clearing her of Inceſt; but however he never left the Lady 'till he had got her Eſtate. People were wont to ſay, that all the many Virtues of *Craſſus* were darkned by this one Vice of Avarice, and indeed he ſeemed to have no other but that; for it being the moſt predominant, obſcured the other Vices to which he was inclined, and the Arguments they alledged, were the vaſtneſs of his Eſtate, and the manner of raiſing it; for whereas at firſt he was not worth above 300 Talents, yet being entred upon Adminiſtration of Affairs, though he had ſacrific'd the tenths of all he had to *Hercules* and feaſted the People, and gave to every Citizen Corn enough to ſerve him three Months; yet

προσκείμενος.

35000 *l.*

upon caſting up his Accounts, before he went upon his *Parthian* Expedition, he found them amount to ſeventy thouſand Talents, moſt of which, if we may ſcandal him with a truth, he got by Fire and Rapine, making his advantages of the Publick Calamities: For when *Sylla* ſeized the City, and expoſed to ſale the Goods of thoſe that he had cauſed to be ſlain, accounting them Booty and Spoyls, and calling them ſo too, and being willing to make as many of the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens as he could Partakers in the Crime, *Craſſus* never was the Man that refuſed to accept, or give Mony for them. Moreover obſerving how extreamly ſubject the City was to fire, and falling down of Houſes, by reaſon of their height and ſtanding ſo near together; he bought Slaves that were Builders and Architects, and when he had got to the number of 500, he bought the Houſes that were on fire, and thoſe in the Neighbourhood, which by reaſon of the preſent danger and uncertainty, the old Proprietors were willing to part with for little or nothing: ſo that the greateſt part of *Rome*, at one time or other, came into his hands. Yet for all he had ſo many Work-men, he never built any thing but his own Houſe; *becauſe*, ſaid he, *thoſe that are addicted to Building will undo themſelves ſoon enough, without*

Συγγενῶν κηρας, *for the Streets were exceeding narrow, crooked, and built moſt with Timber, after it had been burnt by the* Gauls.

*without the help of other Enemies*; but hired his Servants out to Citizens that had a mind to build, and ſold 'em as much Ground as they had need of: But although he had ſo much ready Caſh, and rich Land, and Labourers to work in it, yet all this was nothing in compariſon of his Servants. So many, and ſo excellent Lecturers, Amanuenſes, Silver-Smiths, Stewards, and Table-waiters, and he always ſtood over them to inſpect and teach them himſelf, accounting it the Duty of a Maſter to look over the Servants that are indeed the *living tools* of Houſe-keeping, and herein he was in the right (if he ſpoke as he meant) that the Servants ought to look after all other things, and the Maſter after them: For Oeconomy, which in things Inanimate is but good Huſwifery, in Men becomes Policy: but ſurely he was miſtaken, when he ſaid, *No Man was to be accounted rich, that could not maintain an Army at his own Coſt and Charges*, for War, as *Archidamas* well obſerved, has no certain Allowance, the charge of which is indefinite; and he was clear of another opinion than *C. Marcus*; for he when he had diſtributed fourteen Acres of Land a Man, and underſtanding that ſome deſired more; *God forbid* (ſays he) *that any* Roman *ſhould think that too little, which is e-*

*nough to keep him alive and lusty*; but however *Crassus* was very hospitable to Strangers, for he kept open house, and to his Friends he would lend Mony interest-free, but he called it in precisely at the time; so that his kindness was worse than the paying the Interest would have been; as for his Entertainments they were very frank and courteous, his Company generally of the middle sort, the neatness and contrivance of them, looking better than if they had been more Magnificent: as for Learning he chiefly minded Rhetorick, and such Studies as might accomplish most for Publick Employments; for although he was naturally as good a Spokes-man as almost any of them, yet in his Pains and Industry he surpassed them all; for there was no Tryal how mean and contemptible so ever that he came to unprepared; nay, several times he has gone through with a Cause, when *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, and *Tully* himself have refused to stand up, upon which account particularly he got the Love of the People, who looked upon him as a necessary Man, and one ready to do a good turn: Besides, the People were pleased with his courteous and frank Salutations and Greetings; for he never met any Citizen how mean and low soever, but he returned him his Salute by name; he was looked upon

upon as a Man well read in Hiſtory, and pretty well ſeen in *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy, which one *Alexander* read to him, whoſe Commerce with *Craſſus* was a ſufficient Argument of his good Nature, and meek Diſpoſition: For 'tis hard to ſay whether he was poorer when he entred into his Service, or while he continued in it; for being his only Friend that uſed to accompany him in his Progreſſes, he would lend him a Cloak for a Journey, and when he came home demand it again. O the Patience of the Wretch, when even the Philoſophy he profeſſed did not look upon Poverty as a thing indifferent! but of this hereafter. When *Cinna* and *Marius* got the Power in their Hands, 'twas ſoon perceived that they came not for any good they intended to their Country, but deſigning the Ruin and utter Deſtruction of the Nobility; and as many as they could lay their Hands on they ſlew, amongſt which was *Craſſus* his Father and Brother; but himſelf being very Young, for the preſent eſcaped the Danger; but underſtanding that he was every way beſet, and hunted after by the Tyrants, taking with him three Friends and ten Servants, with all poſſible ſpeed he fled into *Spain*, having formerly been there, and contracted a great Acquaintance while his Father was *Prætor*

of

of that Country; but finding all People in a Conſternation, and dreading the Cruelty of *Marius*, as if he was already at their doors, he durſt not diſcover himſelf to any body, but hid himſelf in a large Cave, which was by the Sea-ſhore, and belonged to *Vibius Pacianus*, to whom he ſent one of his Servants to ſound him, his Proviſions alſo beginning to fail; *Vibius* was well pleaſed at his Eſcape, and enquiring the place of his abode, and the number of his Companions, he went not to him himſelf, but commanded his Bailiff to provide every day a good meals-meat, and carry it and leave it upon ſuch a Stone, and ſo return without taking any further notice, or being inquiſitive, promiſing him his liberty if he did as he commanded, and that he would kill him if he did otherwiſe; the Cave is not far from the Sea, made by the cloſing together of ſome Cliffs, through the Chinks of which enters a refreſhing and delicate Gale: When you are entered you find a wonderful high Roof, and a great many very large Rooms one within another, neither is it void of Water or Light: For a very pleaſant and wholeſome Spring runs through the Cliffs, and the natural Chinks let in the Light all day long, and by reaſon of the thickneſs of the Rock, the Air within is pure and clear,

clear, that which is foggy and unhealthful being carried away with the Stream. While *Craſſus* remained here, the Steward brought them what was neceſſary, but never ſaw them, nor knew any thing of the matter, though they within ſaw, and expected him at the cuſtomary times; neither was their Entertainment ſuch as juſt to keep them alive, but very plentiful and delicious; for *Pacianus* reſolved to treat him with all imaginable Civility, and conſidering he was a young Gentleman, he reſolved to gratifie a little his youthful Inclinations; for to give juſt what is needful, ſeems rather to come from neceſſity than from a hearty Friend; taking with him therefore two handſome Damſels, he ſhow'd them the place, and bid them go in boldly; whom when *Craſſus* and his Friends ſaw, they were afraid of being betrayed: demanding therefore what they were, and what they would have, they according as they were inſtructed, anſwered, *they came to wait upon their Maſter, who was hid in that Cave*; then *Craſſus* perceiving 'twas a kind trick of *Vibius*, took the Damſels to him, and kept them there with him as long as he ſtay'd, who gave an account to *Vibius* of what they wanted, and how their caſe ſtood. One of which Ladies, though ſhe was very old, *Femeſtellas* ſays, he

he had ſeen and often heard her tell the Story.

When *Craſſus* had lain concealed there eight Months, as ſoon as he underſtood *Cinna* was dead he appeared abroad, a great number of People flocking to him, out of which he ſelected 2500. He viſited many Cities (and as ſome write) ſack'd *Halaca*; though he ever obſtinately denied it; hence getting together ſome Ships, he paſſed into *Africa*, and joyns with *Metellus Pius* an eminent Perſon, that had raiſed a very conſiderable Army, but upon ſome difference between him and *Metellus*, he ſtay'd not long there, but went over to *Sylla*, by whom he was very much eſteemed; when *Sylla* paſſed over into *Italy* he kept all the young Noble-men that were with him in Employment, ſome he diſpatched one way, and ſome another; it fell to *Craſſus* his ſhare to raiſe Men among the *Marſians*, he demanded a Guard, being to paſs through the Enemy's Country, to whom *Sylla* replied ſharply; *I give you for Guard, your Father, your Brother, your Friends and Kindred, whoſe unjuſt and cruel Murther I am now going to revenge.* Whereat *Craſſus* being netled, he went his way, broke boldly through the Enemy, and behaved himſelf briskly in all *Sylla*'s Encounters, from whence, they ſay,

ſay, began the Emulation for Glory between him and *Pompey*; for though *Pompey* was the younger Man, and had the diſadvantage to be deſcended of a Father that was diſeſteemed by the Citizens, and hated as much as ever Man was; yet in theſe Affairs he appeared ſo glorious and great, that *Sylla* always uſed when he came in, to ſtand up, and pull off his Hat, an Honour which he ſeldom ſhewed to Older Men, and of as good Quality, ever more he ſaluted him *Imperator*; this fir'd and ſtung *Craſſus*, though indeed 'twas but *Pompey*'s due to be preferred, for he both wanted Experience, and his two innate Vices, Sordidneſs and Avarice, Tarniſh'd all the Luſtre of his Actions; for when he had taken *Turdeſia*, a Town of the *Umbrians*, he converted all the Spoil to his own uſe, for which he was complained of to *Sylla*: Nay, in the laſt and greateſt Battel before *Rome* it ſelf, where *Sylla* was worſted, ſome of his Battalions giving ground, and others quite broken; though *Craſſus* got the Victory in the Right Wing which he commanded, and purſued the Enemy till Night, he then ſent to *Sylla* to acquaint him with his Succeſs, and demand Proviſion for his Soldiers. By Preſcriptions and Sequeſtrations he loſt his repute, by making great purchaſes for little

little or nothing, and expecting Preſents too beſides: Nay, they ſay he ſequeſtred ſome one of the *Breſeians* without *Sylla*'s Order, only for his own profit, wherefore *Sylla* never after truſted him in any Publick Affairs. As no Man was more cunning than *Craſſus* to enſnare others by Flattery; ſo no Man lay more open to it, or ſwallowed the Bait more greedily than himſelf; and this particularly was obſerved of him, that though he was the moſt covetous and ſcraping Man in the World, yet he ever hated and railed at ſuch People. It troubled him to ſee *Pompey* ſo ſucceſsful in all his Undertakings, that he had rode in Triumph before he was capable to ſit in the Senate, and that the People had Sirnamed him the Great; and when ſome body was ſaying, *Pompey* the Great was coming, he ſmiled and asked him, *Why, how big is he?* Deſpairing therefore to equal him by Feats of Arms, he betook himſelf to the long Robe, when by doing kindneſſes, pleading, lending Mony, by ſtanding by and voting for thoſe that ſtood for Offices, he arrived at as great Honour and Power, as *Pompey* had from his many famous Expeditions; and this was peculiar to them, *Pompey*'s Name and Intereſt in the City was greateſt when he was abſent, for his Renown in War; but when

when preſent he was often leſs eſteemed than *Craſſus* by reaſon of his Superciliouſneſs and haughty way of living, ſhunning mean Company, and appearing rarely at the *Forum*, and aſſiſting only ſome few, and that not readily, that his Intereſt might be the ſtronger when he came to uſe it for himſelf; whereas *Craſſus* being a Friend always at hand, ready and eaſy of acceſs; and very well experienced in theſe Affairs, with his Freedom and Courteſie, got the better of *Pompey*'s Formality. As for the Gracefulneſs of Body, Eloquence of their Diſcourſe, and Dignity of their Perſons, they were equally excellent: But however this Emulation never tranſported him ſo far as to quarrel him, or bear him any ill Will; for though he was grieved to ſee *Pompey* and *Cæſar* preferred to him, yet he never added Baſeneſs to his Jealouſie, though *Cæſar* when he was taken Captive by the *Corſairs* in *Aſia*, Cry'd out, *O* Craſſus, *how wilt thou rejoyce at the news of my Captivity*? though afterwards they lived friendly together: for when *Cæſar* was going Prætor into *Spain*, and wanting Mony, his Creditors fell upon him, and ſeized upon his Equipage, *Craſſus* then ſtood by him and relieved him, and was his Bail for 830 Talents. Now the City of *Rome* being divided

vided into three Factions, of *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, and *Craſſus* (for as for *Cato* his Fame was greater than his Power, being rather admired than follow'd) the ſober and ſubſtantial part were for *Pompey*, the brisk and hot-headed followed *Cæſar*'s Ambition, but *Craſſus* trimmed between them, making Advantages of both; and cauſed a great Alteration in the Government of the City, being neither a truſty Friend nor implacable Enemy, and was eaſily angred or appeaſed, according as he found it for his Advantage; ſo that in a ſmall time he would aſſert and decry the ſame Laws and the ſame Men; but though he was ſo much favoured, he was more feared, ſo that *Sicinius*, who was the greateſt Teizer of the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of his time, being ask'd how chanc'd he let *Craſſus* alone? *Oh*, ſays he, *he carries Hay on his Horns*, alluding to the Cuſtom of tying Hay to the Horns of a Bull that uſed to Butt, that People might avoid him. Now the Inſurrection of the *Gladiators*, and the Deſolation of *Italy*, which many call the *Spartaceian* War, began upon this Occaſion: One *Lentulus Batiatus* trained up a great many *Gladiators* in *Capua* (many of which were *Gauls* and *Thracians*) who not for any Fault by them committed, but by the Injuſtice of their Maſter were compelled often

to

to fight one with another. Two hundred of theſe conſulted how to eſcape, but their Plot being diſcover'd, they who firſt perceiv'd it, for preventions ſake, being ſeventy eight, got out of a Cooks-ſhop Chopping-knives, Spits, &c. and made their way thro' the City; and lighting by the way on ſeveral Waggons, that were carrying *Gladiators*-Arms to another City, they ſeized upon them and Armed themſelves; and ſeizing upon a defenſible Place, they choſe three Captains, of which *Spartacus* was chief, a *Thracian* Shepherd, a Man not only of an high Spirit and valiant, but more underſtanding and courteous than could be expected from one of his Condition, and more civiliz'd than the People of that Country uſually are. When he firſt came to be ſold at *Rome*, they ſay a Snake twined about his Face as he lay aſleep, and his Wife who alſo accompanied him, his Country-Woman, a kind of Propheteſs, and inſpired by *Bacchus*, declared that it was a great and terrible ſign, portending great Power to him with an happy Event. Firſt then routing thoſe that came out of *Capua* againſt them, and ſeizing upon their Arms, they gladly threw away their own as Barbarous and Diſhonourable; afterwards *Clodius* the Prætor, was Commanded againſt them with a

Party of three thouſand, who beſieg'd them within a Mountain, which had but one narrow and difficult Paſſage, which *Clodius* kept guarded, encompaſs'd with broken and ſlippery Precipices, but upon the top grew a great many wild Vines; they cut down as many of their Boughs as they had need of, and twiſted them into Ladders, that would reach from thence to the Bottom, by which without any danger they got down all but one, who ſtay'd there only to throw them down their Arms, and after all he ſav'd himſelf. Now the *Romans* were ignorant of all this, wherefore coming upon their Backs, they aſſaulted them at unawares, took their Camp, and ſeveral of the Shepherds and Herdſmen that were there, ſtout nimble Fellows, revolted over to them; theſe they Armed and made uſe of them, for Scouts and light Armed Soldiers. Again *Publius Varinus* is ſent General againſt them, whoſe Lieutenant-General *Phurius*, with two thouſand Men, they fought and routed. Then *Coſſinius* Collegue to *Varinus*, was ſent with conſiderable Forces, him *Spartacus* miſſed but very little of taking, as he was Bathing at *Salenæ*, for he with great difficulty made his eſcape, but *Spartacus* poſſeſs'd himſelf of his Baggage, and following the chaſe with a great ſlaughter, ſtorm'd his Camp and

and took it, where *Coſſinius* himſelf was ſlain; nay after many Skirmiſhes with the Prætor himſelf, and in one taking Priſoners his Lictors and his own Horſe, he began to be great and terrible; wiſely therefore conſidering, that he was not to expect to match the Force of the Empire, he marched his Army towards the *Alps*, intending when he had paſs'd them that every Man ſhould go to his own home, ſome to *Thrace*, ſome to *Gaul*, &c. But they being grown confident in their Numbers, and puffed up with their Succeſs, would give no Obedience to him, but with Excurſions ravaged *Italy*, ſo that now the Senate was not only moved at the Indignity and Baſeneſs, both of the Enemy, and of the Inſurrection, but looking upon it as of dangerous Conſequence, both the Conſuls are ſent to it as to a great and difficult Enterprize, and Conſul *Gellius* falling ſuddenly upon a Party of *Germans*, who through Contempt and Confidence were ſtragled from *Spartacus*, fell upon them on a ſudden and cut them all to pieces. But *Lentulus* with a mighty Army beſieging *Spartacus*, he ſallied upon him, and joining Battel took his chief Officers Priſoners, and made himſelf Maſter of all his Baggage. As he made toward the *Alps*, *Caſſius* that was Prætor

of that part of *Gaul* that lies about the *Po*, met him with ten thouſand Men, but being overcome in Battel, he had much ado to eſcape himſelf, with the loſs of a great many of his Men; when the Senate underſtood this, they were diſpleas'd at the Conſuls, and ordering them to meddle no farther, they appointed *Craſſus* General of the War, and a great many of the Nobility went Volunteers with him, partly out of Friendſhip, and part to get Honour. He ſtaid in *Picena*, expecting *Spartacus* would take a compaſs and come that way, and ſent his Lieutenant with two Legions to wheel about and obſerve the Enemies Motion, but upon no account to engage or skirmiſh; but he upon the firſt opportunity join'd Battel, and was routed, having a great many of his Men ſlain, and a great many ſaving their Lives, with the loſs of their Arms. *Craſſus* rebuked *Mummius* ſeverely, and Arming the Soldiers again, he made them find Sureties for their Arms, that they would part with them no more, but for five hundred that were the Beginners of the flight, he divided them into fifty Tenths, and one of each was to dye by lot, thus he revived the ancient puniſhment of Decimation, where Ignominy is added to the Circumſtances of Death, like the repreſentation of a diſmal and terrible Tragedy,

Tragedy, where the reſt ſit as Spectators. When he had thus reclaim'd his Men, he led them againſt the Enemy, but *Spartacus* retreated into *Lucania* toward the Sea, and in the Straights meeting with ſome *Cilician* Pyrates, he had thought of attempting *Sicily*, whereupon Landing two thouſand Men, he hoped to new kindle the War of the Slaves, which was but lately extinguiſh'd, and ſeem'd to need but little fewel; but after the Pyrates had ſtruck a Bargain with him, and receiv'd his Earneſt, they deceived him and ſailed away. He thereupon retir'd again from the Sea, and pitch'd his Camp in the Peninſula of *Rhegium*; there *Craſſus* came upon him, and conſidering the Nature of the Place, and that it ſupply'd him for all that was neceſſary for his Undertaking, he deſigned to build a Wall croſs the *Iſthmus*; thus keeping his Soldiers at once from Idleneſs, and his Foes from Forage; which great and difficult Undertaking he perfected in a ſmall time beyond all Expectation, making a Ditch from one Sea to the other, over a Neck of Land of three hundred Furlongs long, fifteen Foot broad and as much in depth, and upon it built a wonderful high and ſtrong Wall, which *Spartacus* at firſt ſlighted and deſpiſed, but when Proviſions began to fail, and intending to

paſs further, he found he was walled in, and no more was to be had in the Peninſula, taking the opportunity of a Snowy ſtormy Night, he filled up part of the Ditch with Earth, and Boughs of Trees, and ſo paſs'd over the third part of his Army, wherefore *Craſſus* was afraid leſt he ſhould march directly to *Rome*; but was ſoon eaſed of that fear when he ſaw many of his Men upon a Mutiny revolt from him, and encamp by themſelves upon the *Lucanian* Lake. This Lake they ſay is very changeable, ſometimes ſweet, and ſometimes ſo ſalt, that it cannot be drunk. *Craſſus* falling upon theſe beat them from the Lake, though he could not purſue the ſlaughter, by reaſon of *Spartacus* his coming in, who ſtayed the flight. Now he began to repent that he had formerly writ to the Senate, to call *Lucullus* out of *Thrace*, and *Pompey* out of *Spain*, ſo that he did all he could to finiſh the War, before they came, knowing that the honour of the Action would redound to him that came to his aſſiſtance; reſolving therefore firſt to ſet upon thoſe that were revolted, and encamped apart, whom *C. Cunicius* and *Caſtus* Commanded, he ſent ſix thouſand Men before to ſecure a little Eminence, and to do it as privately as poſſible; which that they might do, they covered their Helmets,

Helmets, but being diſcovered by two Women that were ſacrificing for the Enemy, they had been in great hazard, had not *Craſſus* immediately appeared, and joined Battel with them, which proved very bloody, for twelve thouſand three hundred were ſlain, and two only wounded in their Backs, the reſt all dyed ſtanding in their Ranks, and fighting bravely: *Spartacus* after this Diſcomfiture, retired to the Mountains of *Petilia*; but *Quintus* one of *Craſſus* his Commanders, and *Scropha* the *Queſtor* purſued, and overtook him; but when *Spartacus* rallied and faced them, they baſely betook themſelves to flight, and had much ado to carry off their *Queſtor* who was wounded; this Succeſs ruined *Spartacus*, becauſe it encouraged the Fugitives, who now diſdained any longer to make a flying fight, nor to obey their Officers, but as they were upon their March, they came to them with their Swords in their Hand, and compelled them to lead them back again through *Lucania*, againſt the *Romans*, and to make what haſte they could to find out *Craſſus*; here News is brought that *Pompey* was at hand, and People uſed to talk openly, that the honour of this War was reſerved for him, who would come and oblige the Enemy to fight and certainly rout him. Where-

upon *Craſſus* deſiring to fight, he encamped very near the Enemy, and made Lines of Circumvallation, but the Slaves made a Sally, and attack'd the Pioneers; now as freſh Supplies came in, on either ſide, and *Spartacus* ſeeing there was no avoiding it, he ſet all his Army in Array, and when his Horſe was brought him, he drew out his Sword, and killed him, ſaying, if he got the Day, he ſhould have a great many better Horſes of the Enemies, and if he loſt it, he ſhould have no need of this; ſo making directly towards *Craſſus* himſelf, through Wounds and Darts he miſſed of him, but two Centurions that fell upon him together, he ſlew; at laſt being deſerted by thoſe that were about him, he himſelf ſtood his Ground, and being ſurrounded by the Enemy, he bravely defending himſelf was cut in pieces. But though *Craſſus* made uſe of his Fortune, and not only did the part of a General, but gallantly expoſed his Perſon; yet *Pompey* ſhar'd in the Honour of the Action, for he met with many that fled and ſlew them, ſo that he Wrote to the Senate, that *Craſſus* indeed had Vanquiſhed the Fugitives in a pitch'd Battel, but that he had put an end to the War. *Pompey* was honoured with a magnificent Triumph for his Conqueſt over *Sertorius* and

and *Spain*; but *Craſſus* himſelf could not ſo much as deſire a Triumph, and it look'd meanly in him to accept of an Ovation for a ſervile War, and paſs through the City on Foot: (As to the Difference between Ovation and Triumph it is writ in the Life of *Marcellus*:) And *Pompey* being immediately called to the Conſulſhip, tho' *Craſſus* hoped to be joined with him, he did not ſcruple to requeſt his Aſſiſtance, who very readily laid hold on that Opportunity (for he deſired by all means to lay ſome Obligation upon *Craſſus*) and briskly furthered his Intereſt; and at laſt he declared in his Speech, that he was no leſs beholden to them for his Collegue, then for the Honour of the Office. But being entred upon the Employment, this Amity continued not long; but differing almoſt in every thing, Claſhing and Maligning one another, the time of their Conſulſhip paſſed without any matter of Conſequence, except that *Craſſus* made a great Sacrifice to *Hercules*, and feaſted the People at ten thouſand Tables, and meaſured them out Corn for three Months. Now as their Command was ready to expire, and they were making their farewel Speeches, a *Roman* Knight, one *Ovatius Aurelius* a private Country-Gentleman, mounted the *Roſtrum*, and declared

declared a Vision he had in his Sleep, *Jupiter*, says he, appeared to me, and commanded me to tell you, That you should not suffer your Consuls to lay down their Charge before they were made Friends. When he had spoke, the People cryed out, that they should be reconciled. *Pompey* stood still and said nothing; but *Crassus* first offering him his Hand, I cannot think, says he, my Countrymen, that I do a mean thing, and unworthy my self, if I make the first Offers of Accommodation and Friendship with *Pompey*, whom you your selves stiled the Great, before he was of Man's Estate, and decreed him a Triumph before he was capable of sitting in the Senate. This is what was memorable in *Crassus*'s Consulship; but as for his Censorship, that was altogether Idle and Unactive, for he neither made a Scrutiny of the Senate, nor took a Review of the Gentry, nor an Account of the People, though he had as mild a Man as could be desired for his Colleague *Lutatius Catulus*, though 'twas reported that when *Crassus* intended a violent and unjust Action, which was the reducing *Egypt* to be tributary to *Rome*, *Catulus* strongly opposed it, and falling out about it, they laid down their Office by consent; as for that great Conspiracy of *Cataline*, which was very near subverting

verting the Government, *Craſſus* was not without ſome ſuſpicion of being concerned, and one Man ſwore him in the Plot; but no body credited him: Yet *Cicero* in one of his Orations openly charges both *Craſſus* and *Cæſar* with it, though that Speech was not publiſhed 'till they were both dead, and in that Speech which he made upon his being elected Conſul, he declares that *Craſſus* came to him by Night, and brought a Letter concerning *Cataline*, and confirming the Conſpiracy, for which *Craſſus* hated him ever after, but was hindred by his Son from doing him any Injury; for *Publius* was mightily addicted to Learning and Eloquence, and a conſtant Follower of *Cicero*, inſomuch that he put himſelf into Mourning for his Baniſhment, and obliged all the young Gentlemen to do the ſame; at laſt he reconciled him to his Father. Now *Cæſar* returning from his Command, and deſigning to get the Conſulſhip, and ſeeing that *Craſſus* and *Pompey* were again at Variance, was unwilling to diſoblige one by making Application to the other, and deſpaired of Succeſs without the help of one of them; he therefore made it his Buſineſs to reconcile them, making it appear that by deſtroying one the other, they advanced the *Cicero*'s, the *Catuli*, and the

the *Cato*'s, who would really be of no Account if they would join their Forces and Factions together, and ſo they might manage the Affairs of the Empire, as they pleaſed; ſo they being reconciled by his Perſwaſion, they three ſet up an irreſiſtable Power, which utterly ſubverted the Government both as to Senate and People; not that he made them greater than they were before, but by their Means made himſelf greateſt of all; for by the Adherents of both, he was glorioufly declared Conſul, which Office when he adminiſtred with Credit, they decreed him the Command of the Army, and allotted him *Gaul* for his Province, and ſo placed him as in the Cittadel, not doubting but they ſhould divide the reſt at Pleaſure, when they had confirmed him in the Command he deſired: *Pompey* was moved hereto by an immoderate deſire of Ruling, but *Craſſus* adding to his old Diſeaſe of Covetouſneſs, an affectation of Trophies and Triumphs, emulating *Cæſar*'s Exploits, not content to be beneath thoſe two, though above all others; could never reſt contented till it ended in an ignominious Overthrow, and a publick Calamity; when *Cæſar* came out of *Gaul* to *Luca*, a great many People went thither to meet him. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* had various Conferences

ces with him how to get the whole Management of Affairs into their Hands, and ſubject every thing to their Power; *Cæſar* to keep up his Army, and *Pompey* and *Craſſus* to get new Ones and new Provinces, in which there was but one way, the getting the Conſulate a ſecond time, which they were to ſtand for, and *Cæſar* to aſſiſt them by writing to his Friends, and ſending many of his Soldiers to Vote; but when they returned to *Rome* their Deſign was preſently ſuſpected, and a Report was ſpread, that this Interview was for no good. When *Marcellinus* and *Domitius* asked *Pompey* in the Senate if he intended to ſtand for the Conſulſhip, he anſwered, Perhaps he would, perhaps not; and being urged again, replied, He would ask it of the honeſt Citizens, but not of the Diſhoneſt. Which Anſwer appearing too haughty and arrogant, *Craſſus* anſwered more civilly, He would deſire it if it might be for the Advantage of the Publick, otherwiſe he would deſiſt; wherefore ſome others were daring enough to deſire it, amongſt which was *Domitius*; but when ſuch eminent Men appeared for it, the reſt were frighted to give it over; but *Cato* encouraged *Domitius* to proceed, who was his Friend and Relation, exciting him to perſiſt, as though he was now defending the publick

publick Liberty, for they did not ſo much aim at the Conſulate, as at arbitrary Government, and this laſt was not a Petition for an Office, but a Seiſure of the Provinces and the Army. Thus ſpoke *Cato*, and he ſpoke his Thoughts only, and almoſt compelled *Domitius* to appear at the *Forum*, where many ſided with them; for People admired what ſhould make 'em deſire the Conſulſhip again, and why they two together, and not with ſome third Perſon; we have a great many Men not unworthy to be Fellow-Conſuls with *Pompey* or *Craſſus*; *Pompey*'s Party being apprehenſive of this, committed all Undecencies and Violences, and amongſt other things lay in wait for *Domitius*, as he was coming thither before Day-break with other Company; his Torch-bearers they killed, and wounded ſeveral others, of which *Cato* was one: Theſe being beat back and ſhut into a Houſe, mean while the Conſuls are declared; not long after they beſieged *Domitius* his Houſe, thruſt *Cato* out of Doors, killed ſome that made Reſiſtance, and decreed *Cæſar* his Command for five Years longer, and Provinces for themſelves, *Syria*, and both the *Spains*, which being decided by Lots, *Syria* fell to *Craſſus*, and the *Spains* to *Pompey*; they were both well pleaſed with their Chance, for

for the People were deſirous that *Pompey* ſhould not go far from the City, and he being extreamly fond of his Wife, was very glad to continue there; but *Craſſus* was ſo tranſported with his Fortune, that 'twas manifeſt he never thought he had ſo good luck befel him as now; ſo that he had much ado to contain himſelf before Company and Strangers, but amongſt his Confidents he blurted out many vain and childiſh things, which were unworthy of his Age, and contrary to his Nature, for he was not much given to boaſting in all his Life beſides; but then being ſtrangely puft up, and his Head heated, he would not limit his Fortune with *Parthia* and *Syria*; but looking on the Actions of *Lucullus* againſt *Tygranes*, and the Exploits of *Pompey* againſt *Mithridates* but Childs-play, he propoſed to himſelf in his hopes to paſs beyond *Bactria* and *India*, and the utmoſt Ocean; not that he was oblig'd by his Office to undertake a Foreign Expedition, but 'twas well known that *Craſſus* affected it, and *Cæſar* wrote to him out of *Gaul*, commending his Reſolution, and inciting him to the War; and when *Atteius* the Tribune of the People deſign'd to ſtop his Journey, for moſt Men murmured, that one Man ſhould undertake a War againſt a People that had done

done them no Injury, and were at Amity with them, he desired *Pompey* to stand by him and accompany him, for he had a great Authority amongst the Mobile, and when several were ready to rise and exclaim against it, *Pompey* appeared with a pleasing Countenance, and so mollified the People, that they let *Crassus* pass quietly; but *Atteius* met him, and first by word of Mouth conjured him not to proceed, and then commanded his Sergeant to seize him and detain him; but the other Tribunes not permitting it, they released *Crassus*; *Atteius* therefore running to the Gate, whither when *Crassus* was come he kindled a Fire in a Caldron, he offered Fumigations and Sacrifices, calling upon and naming several strange and horrible Deities, and cursed him with most dreadful Imprecations: now the *Romans* conceit there is so much Virtue in these sacred and ancient Rites, that no Man can escape the Effects of them, and that the Conjurer himself seldom prospers; so that they are not often made use of, and that but upon a great Occasion; so that *Atteius* was to be blamed to devote that City to such Calamities, upon whose account only he was so highly offended with *Crassus*. *Crassus* arrives at *Brundusium*, and though the Sea was very rough, he had not patience to wait, but went on board, and lost many of

of his Ships, and with the remnant of his Army marched afoot through *Galatia*, where meeting with King *Deiotarus*, who though he was very old, was about building a new City; whereupon *Craſſus* ſcoffingly, told him, Your Majeſty begins to build at the twelfth Hour; Neither do you, ſays he, O General, undertake your *Parthian* Expedition very early; for *Craſſus* was then threeſcore Years old, and he ſeem'd older than he was. At his firſt coming things went as he would have them, for he made a Bridge over *Euphrates* without much difficulty, and paſſed over his Army in ſafety, and took in many Cities of *Meſopotamia*, which yielded themſelves up voluntarily; but he loſt a hundred of his Men before one where *Apollonius* had uſurped; wherefore drawing all his Forces down he took it by Storm, plundered the Goods and ſold the Inhabitants; the *Greeks* call this City *Zenodotia*, upon the taking of which he permitted the Army to ſalute him *Imperator*, but it looked mean and poor, as if he deſpair'd a Nobler Atchievement, that was ſo exalted with this little Succeſs; putting Garriſons of ſeven thouſand Foot and one thouſand Horſe in the New Conqueſts, he return'd to take up his Winter Quarters in *Syria*, where his Son a moſt accompliſh'd Gentleman met him, coming from

*Cæſar* out of *Gaul*, and brought with him 1000 ſelect Horſe; here *Craſſus* ſeem'd to commit his firſt Error, unleſs you will allow the whole Expedition to be one; for whereas he ought to have gone forward and ſeiz'd *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, Cities that were ever at enmity with the *Parthians*, he gave the Enemy time to provide againſt him; beſides he ſpent his time there more like an Uſurer than a General, for he took no account of the Arms, nor Diſcipline of his Soldiers, but in computing the Revenue of the Cities, and weighing the Treaſure that was in the Temple of *Hierapolis*, giving Commiſſions for levying of Soldiers, and diſmiſſing them for Mony, whereupon he loſt his Credit and became deſpicable; here he met with the firſt ill Omen from this Goddeſs, which ſome call *Venus*, others *Juno*, others Nature, or the Cauſe that produces all things out of Moiſture, and inſtructs us in all Good; for as they were going out of the Temple, young *Craſſus* ſtumbled, and his Father fell upon him; when he drew his Army out of Winter Quarters, Ambaſſadors came to him from *Arſaces* with this ſhort Speech; If the Army was ſent by the People of *Rome*, he denounced a mortal War, and would give no Quarter; but if (as he underſtood it was) that againſt the

the Conſent of his Country, *Craſſus* for his own Ends had invaded his Country, then their King would be more merciful, and taking pity upon *Craſſus* his Dotage, would ſend back thoſe Soldiers whom he looked upon rather beſieg'd than in a Garriſon. *Craſſus* vainly told them, he would return his Anſwer at *Seleucia*, whereat *Vagiſes* the Chief of them ſmiling, ſhew'd the Palm of his Hand, ſaying, Hair will grow here before you will ſee *Seleucia*; ſo they return'd to their King *Hyrodes*, telling him 'twas War. Several of the *Romans* that were in Garriſon in *Meſopotamia*, with great hazard made their eſcape and told them the danger was worth their Concern; for that they by experience knew the number of the Enemy, and the manner of their fighting, when they aſſaulted their Towns, (and as the manner is) they made it ſeem greater than really it was, that by flight it was impoſſible to eſcape them, and as impoſſible to overtake them when they fled, that they had new ſtrange ſort of Weapons as ſwift as ſight, that they pierc'd whatever they met with, before you could ſee who threw; their Kataphracti, or arm'd Men at all Points were ſo provided as that they would beat down any thing, and give way to nothing; which when the Soldiers heard, their Hearts failed them; for before they thought there

was no difference between the *Parthians* and *Armenians*, or *Cappadocians*, who tyred *Lucullus* in following and purſuing of them, and were perſwaded that the difficulty of the War conſiſted only in the tediouſneſs of the March, and the trouble of chaſing thoſe that durſt not come to handy blows, ſo that the danger of a Battel was beyond their Expectation; wherefore the Officers advis'd *Craſſus* to proceed no further at preſent, but take new Meaſures upon the whole; eſpecially *Caſſius* the *Queſtor*, and the Southſayers told him privately the Omens were unlucky, and that the Sacrifices portended diſmal Conſequences; but he gave no heed to them or any body elſe, but thoſe that exhorted him to proceed; nor did *Artabaces* King of *Armenia* confirm him a little, who came to his aid with 6000 Horſe; theſe were ſaid to be only the King's Life-guard, for he promiſed 10000 Curiaſſiers more, and 30000 Foot at his own Charges; he perſwaded *Craſſus* to invade *Parthia* by the way of *Armenia*, for he would not only ſupply his Army with Forage, but his Paſſage would be more ſecure, by reaſon of the roughneſs of the Country, and a continued Chain of Mountains, which were almoſt impaſſable to Horſe, in which the main ſtrength of the *Parthians* conſiſted;

ſiſted; *Craſſus* returned him but cold thanks for his readineſs to ſerve him, and the Splendor of his Aſſiſtance, and told him, he was reſolved to paſs through *Meſopotamia*, where he had left a great many brave *Roman* Soldiers, whereupon the *Armenian* went his way. As *Craſſus* was paſſing his Army by *Zeugma*, many ſtrange and ſupernatural Thunders were heard, and the Lightning flaſh'd upon the Army, and during the Storm a Hurricane broke down the Bridge, and carried part of it away, and two Thunderbolts fell upon the very place where the Army was going to Encamp, and one of the General's Horſes famouſly capariſon'd, broke from the Groom, leap'd into the River, and was ſeen no more; and when they went to take up the great Standard the Eagle turned its Head backward; and after he had paſſed over his Army, as they were diſtributing Proviſions, they firſt gave Lentils and Salt, which the *Romans* account ominous, being what is ſet before the dead. And as *Craſſus* was haranguing his Soldiers, he let fall a Word which ſtruck a great Terror in the Army; *for*, ſaid he, *I will break down the Bridge, that none of you may return*; and whereas he ought when he had perceiv'd his Blunder to have corrected himſelf, and explain his Meaning

to thoſe that were ſo concern'd at it, he wou'd not do it out of meer Stubborneſs; and when at the laſt general Sacrifice the Prieſt gave him the Entrails, they ſlipt out of his Hand, and when he ſaw the Standers by concern'd at it, he laught and ſaid, *See what 'tis to be an old Man, but I'll hold my Sword faſt enough*; ſo marching his Army along the River with ſeven Legions, little leſs than 4000 Horſe, and as many light-arm'd Soldiers, the Scouts returning, declared that not one Man appeared, but that they ſaw the footing of a great many Horſes which ſeemed to retire and fly; whereupon *Craſſus* conceiv'd great Hopes, and the *Romans* began to deſpiſe the *Parthians*, as Men that would not come to handy-ſtrokes; but *Caſſius* and the reſt adviſed him to refreſh his Army in ſome of the Garriſon Towns, and remain there till they could get ſome certain Intelligence of the Enemy, at leaſt, to make toward *Seleucia*, and keep by the River, that ſo they might have the convenience of Ships to bring him Proviſions, which might always accompany the Army, and the River would ſecure them from being environed, and if they ſhould fight it might be upon equal terms. As *Craſſus* was conſidering hereupon, there came to the Camp an *Arabian* Tribune named

named *Ariamnes*, a cunning ſubtle Fellow, and one which was the chief Cauſe of all the Misfortune that befel them; ſome of *Pompey*'s old Soldiers knew him, for he had ſerv'd with them under him, and had receiv'd ſome Kindneſſes of him, and was looked upon as a Friend to the *Romans*, but was now ſuborn'd by the King's Officers, and ſent to *Craſſus* to entice him if poſſible from the River and Hills into the Plain, where he might be ſurrounded, for the *Parthians* deſir'd any thing rather than to be oblig'd to meet the *Romans* face to face; he therefore coming to *Craſſus* (and he had his Tongue well hung) highly commended *Pompey* as his Benefactor, and admired the Forces that *Craſſus* had with him, but ſeem'd to wonder why he delayed and made Preparations, as if he ſhould not uſe his Feet more than his Arms, againſt thoſe Men that taking with them their beſt Goods and Chattels, had deſign'd long ago to fly for Refuge to the *Scythians* or *Hyrcanians*; but ſuppoſing they were to fight, at leaſt he ought to make what haſte he could, before the King could recover Courage, and get his Forces together; for you ſee *Surena* and *Syllaces* are oppoſed to you, to hinder your further Progreſs, but the King himſelf does not appear; but this was all a Lie, for *Hy-*

*rodes* had divided his Army in two parts, with one he in Perſon waſted *Armenia*, revenging himſelf upon *Artuaſdes*, and ſent *Surena* againſt the *Romans*, not out of Contempt as ſome pretend, for there is no likelihood that he ſhould deſpiſe *Craſſus*, one of the chiefeſt Men of *Rome*, to go and fight with *Artuaſdes*, and invade *Armenia*; but for my part I believe he apprehended the danger, and therefore he expected the Event, and that *Surena* ſhould firſt run the hazard of a Battel and circumvent the Enemy: Nor was this *Surena* an ordinary Perſon, but for Wealth, Family, and Authority, the ſecond Man in the Kingdom, but for Courage and Proweſs he was the firſt, neither was any one ſo large ſized, or ſo well ſhaped; whenever he travelled alone he had 1000 Camels to carry his Baggage, 200 Chariots full of *Concubines*, 1000 compleatly arm'd Men of his Life-guards, and a great many more light-arm'd, and at leaſt ten thouſand of his Servants and Retinue, and the Honour had long belonged to his Family, that at the King's Coronation he put the Crown upon his Head, and when this very King *Hyrodes* had been exiled, he brought him in; 'twas he that took the great City of *Seleucia*, was the firſt Man that ſcaled the Walls, and with his own Hand beat off the Defendants,

Defendants, and though at that time he was not above thirty Years old, he was counted as wiſe and diſcreet, wherein he had much the advantage of *Craſſus*, who was eaſie to be impoſed upon, firſt through his overweening Confidence, and afterwards becauſe he was daſtarded and cow'd by his Calamities. When *Ariamnes* had thus work'd upon him, he drew him from the River, into vaſt Plains, by a way that at firſt was pleaſant and eaſie, but afterwards very troubleſome by reaſon of the depth of the Sand, not a Tree, not any Water, and no end of this to be ſeen; ſo that they were not only ſpent with Thirſt, and the difficulty of the Paſſage; but the uncomfortable Proſpect, of not a Bough, not a Stream, not a Hillock, not a green Herb, diſmayed them quite; but an odd kind of a Sea of Sand, which encompaſſed the Army with its Waves. Here they began to ſuſpect ſome Treachery, and at the ſame time came Meſſengers from *Artuaſdes*, that he was engaged in a bloody War with *Hyrodes*, that had invaded his Country, ſo that now 'twas impoſſible for him to ſend him any Succours. Wherefore he adviſed *Craſſus* to turn back, and with joint Forces to give *Hyrodes* Battel, or at leaſt that he ſhould ſo march and Encamp where Horſes could not eaſily come,

come, and keep to the Mountains. *Craſſus* out of Anger and Vanity, writ him no Anſwer, but told them, at preſent he was not at leiſure to mind the *Armenians*, but he would call upon them another time, and revenge himſelf upon *Artuaſdes* his Treachery. Here *Caſſius* his Party began again to complain, but when they perceived how much *Craſſus* was diſpleaſed, they gave him over, but privately rail'd at the *Barbarian*, What evil Genius, O thou worſt of Men, brought thee to our Camp, and with what Charms and Potions haſt thou bewitched *Craſſus*, that he ſhould march his Army through a vaſt and deep Deſart, through Ways which are rather fit for a Captain of *Arabian* Robbers, than the General of a *Roman* Army? But the *Barbarian* being a very ſubtil Fellow, very ſubmiſſively exhorted them, and encouraged them to ſuſtain it a little farther; but ran about the Camp, and under pretence of cheering up the Soldiers, asked them in ſcoff, What do you think you march through *Campania*, expecting every where to find Springs, and Shades, and Baths, and Inns of Entertainment, conſider you now travel the Confines of *Arabia* and *Aſſyria*. Thus he managed them like Children, and before the Cheat was diſcovered, he rode away, not but that

*Craſſus*

*Craſſus* was privy to his going, but he had perſwaded him, that he would go and contrive how to diſorder the Affairs of the Enemy; and it was obſerved that *Craſſus* came not abroad that day in his Scarlet Robe, which *Roman* Generals uſe to wear, but in a black one, which as ſoon as he perceived he changed. And the Standard-Bearers had much ado to take up their Eagles, which ſeemed to be fixed to the Place, *Craſſus* laught at it, and haſtened their March, and compelled his Infantry to keep pace with his Cavalry, 'till ſome few of the Scouts returned, and told them that their Fellows were ſlain, and they hardly eſcaped, that the Enemy was at hand, reſolved to give them Battel; here all was in an Uproar, *Craſſus* was ſtruck into an amaze, and for haſte could not put his Army in good order. Firſt therefore as *Caſſius* adviſed, they opened their Ranks and Files, that they might take up as much ſpace as could be, to prevent their being ſurrounded, and diſtributed the Horſe into the Wings, but afterwards changing his Mind, he drew up his Army in a Square, and made a Front every way, each of which conſiſted of twelve Companies, to every one of which he allotted a Troop of Horſe, that no part might be deſtitute of the Aſſiſtance that the Horſe might give,

and

and that they might be ready to aſſiſt every where, as need ſhould require; *Caſſius* Commanded one of the Wings, young *Craſſus* t'other, and himſelf was in the middle; thus they marched on till they came to a little River named *Boliſſus*, a very inconſiderable one in it ſelf, but very grateful to the Soldiers, who had ſuffered ſo much by Drought and Heat all along their March. Moſt of the Commanders were of the Opinion, that they ought to remain there that Night, and to inform themſelves as much as poſſible of the Number of the Enemies and their Order, and ſo march againſt them at break of Day; but *Craſſus* was ſo exalted at the eagerneſs of his Son, and the Horſemen that were with him, who deſired and urged him to lead them on, and engage, that he commanded thoſe that had a Mind to it, to eat and drink as they ſtood in their Ranks; and before they had all well done, he led them on, not leiſurely and by ſtops, as if he was going to Battel, but kept on his pace as if he had been in haſte, 'till they ſaw the Enemy, contrary to their Expectation, neither ſo many nor ſo magnificently Armed as the *Romans* expected, for *Surena* had hid his main Force behind the firſt Ranks, and ordered them to hide the glittering of their Armor, with Coats and Skins, but when

when they approached, and the General gave the Signal, immediately all the Field rung with a hideous Noiſe, and terrible Clamour; for the *Parthians* do not encourage themſelves to War, with Cornets and Trumpets, but with a kind of Kettle-Drum, which makes a dead and ſolemn Noiſe like the Bellowing of Beaſts, mixt with ſomething like Thunder; for they well conſidered that the Senſe of Hearing, which receives the firſt Impreſſions, moſt eaſily diſturbs the Mind, and ſubverts the Underſtanding. When they had ſufficiently terrified the *Romans* with their Noiſe, they threw off the covering of their Armor, they ſhone like Lightning in their Breſt-plates, and Helmets poliſhed and furbiſhed, and made of *Margianian* Steel, and their Horſes were covered with Braſs and Steel Trappings. *Surena* was the talleſt and comelieſt Man himſelf. And the Sweetneſs of his Looks, and Effeminacy of his Habit, could not promiſe ſo much Manhood, as he really was Maſter of; for his Face was painted, and his Hair parted, after the Faſhion of the *Medes*, whereas the other *Parthians* look'd more terrible, with their Hair ſhaggy after the *Scythian* mode. Their firſt Deſign was with their Launces to beat down, and force back the firſt Ranks of the *Romans*, but when they perceived the depth

depth of their Battel, and that the Soldiers kept their Ground, they made a Retreat, and pretending to ſeparate and break their Orders, they encompaſſed the *Romans* round, e'er they were aware of it; then *Craſſus* Commanded his light-armed Soldiers to charge in, but they had not gone far, before they were received with ſuch a Shower of Arrows, that they were glad to retire amongſt the heavy Armed, which was the firſt Occaſion of their Diſorder and Terrour, when they perceived the ſtrength and force of their Darts, which pierced and broke their Arms, Body and all. Now the *Parthians* divided themſelves and began to ſhoot from all ſides, not aiming at any particular, for indeed the Order of the *Romans* was ſo cloſe, that they could not miſs if they would, and Arrows being forced out of ſtrong bent Bows, the Strokes were very violent. Now was the State of the *Romans* deſperate, for if they kept the Ranks, they were wounded, and if they charged, though they hurt the Enemy ne'er the more, they ſuffered ne'er the leſs. For the *Parthians* threw their Darts when they fled, an Art which none but the *Scythians* are better practiſed in, and 'tis cunningly contrived; for while they thus fight to make their eſcape, they avoid the diſhonour

nour of a Flight; however the *Romans* had ſome comfort to think, that when they had ſpent all their Arrows, they would either give over or come to handy Stroaks, but when they underſtood there were ſeveral Camels loaded with Arrows, and when the firſt Ranks had diſcharged thoſe they had, they wheeled off and took more: *Craſſus* ſeeing no end of it, was out of all heart, but ſent to his Son that he ſhould endeavour to fall in upon them, before he was quite ſurrounded; for the Enemy charged moſtly upon that quarter, and rode about that they might come behind him, wherefore the young Man taking with him 1300 Horſe, (1000 of which he had from *Cæſar*) 500 Archers, and eight Companies of his beſt Armed Soldiers that ſtood next him, he led them up with deſign to charge the *Parthians*. Whether it was that they feared to ſtand an Army in ſo good Array, (as ſome think) or elſe deſigning to entice young *Craſſus* as far as they could from his Father, pretended to fly, whereupon he crying out that they durſt not ſtand, purſued them, and with him *Cenſorinus* and *Vegabacchus*, both Famous, one for his Courage and Proweſs, the other for being of a Noble Family and an excellent Orator, both Intimates of *Craſſus*, and his Contemporaries,

temporaries. The Horſe thus puſhing on, the Infantry ſtaid little behind, being exalted with hopes and joy, for they ſuppoſed they had already Conquered, and now were only purſuing, 'till when they were gone too far, they perceived the Deceit; for they that ſeemed to fly, now turned again, and a great many freſh ones came on; hereupon they made an halt, for they doubted not but now the Enemy would attack them, becauſe they were ſo few, but they placed their Curiaſſiers againſt the *Romans*, and with the reſt of their Horſe, rode about ſcouring the Field, and ſtirring up the Sand, they raiſed ſuch a Duſt that the *Romans* could neither ſee nor ſpeak to one another, and for want of room tumbling upon one another, they were ſlain, not by a quick and eaſie Death, but with intolerable Pain and Convulſions; for rowling among the Darts, they lingered away of their Wounds, and when they would by force pluck out the barbed Arrows, they caught hold of the Nerves and Veins, ſo that they tore and tortured themſelves; many of them died thus, and thoſe that ſurvived were diſabled for any Service, and when *Publius* exhorted them to charge the Curiaſſiers, they ſhewed him their Hands nailed to their Shields, and their Feet ſtuck to the Ground, ſo that they

they could neither fly nor fight, wherefore he charged in briskly with his Horſe and made a gallant Onſet, but the fight was very unequal, either as to the offenſive or defenſive part; for the *Romans* with their weak and little Javelins, ſtruck againſt Targets that were of tough raw Hides, or Steel, whereas the naked Bodies of the *Gauls* were expoſed to the ſtrong Spears of the Enemy, for upon theſe he moſtly depended, and with them he wrought Wonders, for they would catch hold of their Spears, and ſeize upon the Enemy, and ſo pull them off from their Horſes, where they could ſcarce ſtir by reaſon of the heavineſs of their Armour, and many of them quitting their own Horſes, would creep under thoſe of the Enemy, and ſtick them into the Belly; which growing unruly by reaſon of the pain, trampled upon their Riders, and Enemies promiſcuouſly. The *Gauls* were chiefly tormented by reaſon of the heat and drought, being not accuſtomed to them, and moſt of their Horſes were ſlain, by being ſpurr'd on againſt the Spears, ſo that they were forced to retire among the Foot, bearing off *Publius* grievouſly wounded; obſerving a ſandy Hillock not far off, they made to it, tying therefore their Horſes to one another, and placing them

in the midſt, and joining all their Shields together before them, they thought they might make ſome Defence againſt the *Barbarians*, but it fell out quite contrary, for when they were drawn up in a Plain, the Front in ſome meaſure ſecur'd thoſe that were behind, but when they were upon the Hill, one being higher than another, there was no avoiding of it, but all were equally expoſed, bewailing their Inglorious and uſeleſs Fate. There were with *Publius* two *Greeks*, that lived near there at *Carras*, *Hieronymus*, and *Nichomachus*, they perſwaded him to retire with them to *Icenas*, a Town not far from thence, and Allie of the *Romans*. *No*, ſaid he, *there is no Death ſo terrible, for the fear of which* Publius *would leave his Friends that dye upon his account*; but wiſhing them to take care of themſelves, he embraced them and ſent them away, and becauſe he could not uſed his Arm, for he was run through with a Spear, he open'd his Side to his Armour-bearer, and commanded him to run him through; and 'twas ſaid that *Cenſorinus* fell after the ſame manner. *Vegabacchus* ſlew himſelf, as alſo the reſt of beſt Note, and the *Parthians* coming upon the reſt with their Lances, killed them fighting, nor were there above 500 taken Priſoners. Cutting off the Head of *Publius*,

*Publius*, they directly march towards *Craſſus*; and this was the Poſture of Affairs, when he had commanded his Son to fall upon the Enemy, and word was brought him that they were fled, and perceiving that the Enemy did not preſs upon him ſo hard as formerly, for they were gone to fall upon *Publius*, he began to take Heart a little; and drawing his Army into a convenient place, expected when his Son would return from the purſuit of thoſe whom he thought defeated (as ſoon as he ſaw his danger) the firſt Meſſengers were intercepted by the Enemy, and ſlain, the laſt hardly eſcaping came and declar'd that *Publius* was loſt, unleſs he had ſpeedy Succours; *Craſſus* was mightily diſtracted, not knowing what Counſel to take, being fearful for the main Chance, and deſirous to help his Son, at laſt he reſolv'd to move with his Forces: Juſt upon this, up came the Enemy with their Shouts and Noiſes, now more terrible, with their Drums aſtoniſhing the *Romans* who now fear'd a freſh Engagement, and they that brought *Publius* his Head upon the point of a Spear, when they were come ſo near that it could be known, ſcoffingly enquir'd where were his Parents, and what Family he was of, for 'twas impoſſible that ſo brave and gallant a Gentleman, ſhould be the Son

of ſo pitiful a Coward as *Craſſus*: This ſight above all the reſt diſmayed the *Romans*, for it did not incite them to Courage as it ought to have done, but to horror and trembling, though they ſay *Craſſus* out-did himſelf in this Calamity, for he paſſed through the Ranks, and cryed out to them: *This, dear Countrymen, is my own peculiar Loſs, but the Fortune and the Glory of* Rome *is ſafe; and untainted ſo long as you are ſafe, but if any one be concerned for my loſs of the beſt of Sons, let him ſhew it in revenging him upon the Enemy: Take away their Joy, revenge their Cruelty, nor be diſmay'd at what is paſt; for who ever attempts great Matters muſt ſuffer ſomething: Neither did* Lucullus *overthrow* Tigranes *without blood-ſhed, nor* Scipio, Antiochus: *Our Anceſtors have loſt* 1000 *Ships about* Sicily, *and how many Generals and Captains in* Italy? *None of which notwithſtanding failed to overthrow the Conquerors, for the State of* Rome *did not arrive to this height by Fortune, but by Perſeverance and Virtue.* While *Craſſus* thus ſpake exhorting them, he ſaw but few that gave much heed to him, and when he order'd them to ſhout for the Battel, he found the deadneſs of Heart of his Army, which made but a faint and weak Noiſe, but the ſhout of

of the Enemy was clear and bold, and when they came to the Buſineſs the Horſemen riding about ſhot their Arrows, and the foremoſt Ranks with their Spears drove the *Romans* cloſe together, except thoſe who ruſh'd upon them for fear of being killed by their Arrows. Neither did theſe do much Execution, being quickly diſpatched, for the ſtrong thick Spear made great Wounds, and often run through two Men at once; as they were thus fighting the Night coming on parted them, the *Parthians* boaſting that they would indulge *Craſſus* one Night to mourn his Son, unleſs upon better conſideration he would rather go to *Arſaces* than be carried to him; and therefore took up their Quarters near them, being fluſh'd with their Victory: But the *Romans* had a ſad Night of it, for neither taking care for the Burial of their dead, nor the Cure of their Wounds, nor the Groans of the expiring, every one bewailed his own Fate: For there was no means of eſcaping, whether they ſhould ſtay for the Light, or if venture to retreat into the vaſt Deſart of the Dark. And now the Wounded Men gave them new trouble, for to take them with them would retard their flight, and if they ſhould leave them, they might ſerve as Guides to the Enemy by their

Cries, but however they were desirous to see and hear *Crassus*, though they were sensible he was the cause of all their Mischief; but he retired and hid himself, where he lay as an Example of Fortune to the Vulgar, but to the Wise an Example of Inconsiderateness and Ambition: Who not content to be Imperior to so many Millions of Men, but being inferior to two, esteem'd himself as the lowest of all. Then came *Octavius* his Lieutenant-General, and *Cassius* to comfort him, but he being altogether struck senseless, they call'd together the Centurions, and Officers, and agreeing that the best way was to fly, they order'd the Army to march without sound of Trumpet, and at first with silence; but when the disabled Men found they were left behind, a strange Confusion and Tumult, with an Outcry and Lamentation seiz'd the Camp, and a trembling and dread fell upon them, as if the Enemy were at their Heels; by which means now and then turning back, now and then standing to their Order, sometimes taking up the wounded that follow'd, sometimes laying of them down, they wasted the time, (except 300 Horse) whom *Ignatius* brought safe to *Carræ* about Midnight; where calling to the Watch, as soon as they heard him, he bid them tell *Coponius* the Gover-

Governor that *Craſſus* had fought a very great Battel with the *Parthians*; having ſaid but this, and not ſo much as telling his Name, he rid away at ſpeed to *Zeugma*: 'Tis true, by this means he ſaved himſelf and his Men, but he loſt his Reputation by deſerting his General; but however his Meſſage to *Coponius* was for the advantage of *Craſſus*, for ſuſpecting by this haſty and confuſed delivery of himſelf, that all was not well, he immediately ordered the Garriſon to be in Arms, and as ſoon as he underſtood that *Craſſus* was upon the way towards him, he went out to meet him and received him with his Army into the Town; but the *Parthians* although they perceived their diſlodgment in the Night, yet did not purſue them, but as ſoon as it was day they came upon thoſe that were left in the Camp, and put no leſs than 4000 of them to the Sword, and with their Light-Horſe pick'd up a great many ſtraglers. *Vargontinus* the Legate broke off from the main Body with about three Cohorts, which ſtrayed out of the way; the *Parthians* encompaſſing theſe in an Eminence, ſlew every Man of them excepting twenty, who with their drawn Swords forc'd their way through the thickeſt, and they admiring their Co.rage, open'd their Ranks

to the Right and Left, and let them paſs without any further Moleſtation to *Carræ*.

Soon after a falſe Report was brought to *Surena*, that *Craſſus* with his principal Officers had eſcap'd, and that thoſe who were got into *Carræ* were but a confuſed Rout of inſignificant People, not worth further Purſuit. Suppoſing therefore that he had loſt the very Crown and Glory of his Victory, and yet being uncertain whether it were ſo or not, and therefore not able to reſolve whether he ſhould beſiege *Carræ* or follow *Craſſus*, he ſent one of his Interpreters to the Walls, commanding him in *Latin* to call *Craſſus* or *Caſſius*, for that the General *Syrena* had a mind to treat with him; as ſoon as *Craſſus* heard this he embrac'd the Propoſal, and ſoon after came up a Band of *Arabians*, who very well knew the Faces of *Craſſus* and *Caſſius*, as having been frequently in the *Roman* Camp before the Battel. They having eſpyed *Caſſius* from the Wall, told him that *Syrena* deſired a Peace, and would give them ſafe Convoy, if they would make a League with the King his Maſter, and withdraw all their Garriſons out of *Meſopotamia*, and this he thought moſt adviſeable for them both, before things came to extremity. *Caſſius* greedily

greedily embracing the Propoſal, deſired that a time and place might be appointed, where *Craſſus* and *Syrena* might have an Interview. The *Arabians* having charged themſelves with the Meſſage, went back to *Syrena*, who was not a little rejoyced that *Craſſus* would ſtand a Siege; next day therefore he came up with his Army inſulting over the *Romans*, and haughtily demanding of them *Craſſus* and *Caſſius* bound, if they expected any Mercy; the *Romans* ſeeing themſelves deluded and mock'd, were much troubled at it, and adviſing *Craſſus* to lay aſide his long and empty Hopes of aid from the *Armenians*, reſolved to fly for it; and this Deſign ought to have been kept private, 'till they were upon their way, but *Craſſus* could not conceal it from the Villain *Andromachus*, nay he was ſo infatuated as to chuſe him for his Guide. The *Parthians* then to be ſure had punctual Intelligence of all that paſſed; but it being forbid to them by the Laws of their Country, and no leſs difficult to fight by Night, *Craſſus* choſe that time to ſet out in, and the truſty *Andromachus*, leſt he ſhould get the ſtart too far of his Purſuers, lead him into Moraſſes and Places full of Ditches and Incloſures, ſo that it was exceeding painful and vexatious to his Company, and

ſome

ſome there were who ſuppoſing by theſe Windings and Turnings of *Andromachus*, that no good was intended, reſolved to follow him no further, and at laſt *Caſſius* himſelf returned to *Carræ*, and his Guides the *Arabians* adviſing him to tarry there till the Moon was got out of *Scorpio*, he told them that he was moſt afraid of *Sagittarius*, and they with 500 Horſe left him, and went into *Aſſyria*; others there were, who having got honeſt Guides, took their way by the Mountains, and got into places of Security by day-break, theſe were 5000 under the Command of *Octavius* a very gallant Man; but *Craſſus* fared worſe, for *Andromachus* had ſo intangled him in the Fenns and rough Ways, that before he could get clear of them, the *Parthians* were at his Heels; there were with him four Cohorts of Legionary Soldiers, a very few Horſemen, with whom having with great Difficulty got into the way, and not being above a Mile and half from *Octavius*, inſtead of going to join him, he retreated unto another Hill, neither ſo defenſible nor unpaſſable for the Horſe, but yet lying under the Hills of *Sinnaca*, and continued in a long Ridge through the Plains, *Octavius* could ſee in what danger the General was, and himſelf at firſt but ſlenderly followed, came into

into the reſcue. Soon after the reſt upbraiding one another with Baſeneſs, in forſaking their Officers, marched down, and falling upon the *Parthians*, drove them from the Hill, and compaſſing *Craſſus* about, and fencing him with their Shields, they declared that their General ſhould not lye expoſed to a *Parthian* Arrow, ſo long as there was a Man of them left alive; *Syrena* therefore perceiving his Soldiers grew faint in their Attaque, and knowing that if the *Romans* ſhould ſpin out the Battel till Night, they might then gain the Mountains and be out of his reach, he betook himſelf to his uſual Craft; for ſome of the Priſoners were ſet free, who had heard a contrived Diſcourſe in the Camp, that the King did not deſign a War to be purſued with the utmoſt extremity againſt the *Romans*, but rather by his gentle Treatment of *Craſſus*, to make a ſtep towards Reconciliation of the two Empires; And the *Barbarians* deſiſted from fighting, *Syrena* himſelf going gently to the Hill, unbent his Bow and held out his Hand, inviting *Craſſus* to an Agreement, and withal aſſured him, that it was beſides the King's Intentions, that they had thus far ſhewn their Valour and Force; that now he deſired no other contention but that of Kindneſs and Friendſhip,

ſhip, by making a firm Alliance, and permitting them to go away in ſafety: Theſe words of *Syrena* ſome received joyfully, and accepted the Offer, but *Craſſus* who had had ſufficient Experience of their Perfidiouſneſs; and not being able to aſſign any reaſon of the ſudden Change, would give no ear to them, and only took time to conſider; but the Soldiers cryed out and adviſed him to treat, afterwards upbraided and affronted him, ſaying that it was very unreaſonable that he ſhould bring them to fight with ſuch Men Armed, whom himſelf without their Arms durſt not look in the Face. He tried firſt to prevail with them by Intreaties, and told them that if they would have patience 'till Evening they might get into the Mountains and Paſſes, unacceſſible for Horſe, and ſo be out of danger of the *Parthian* Darts, and withal he pointed out the way with his Hand, intreating them not to neglect their Preſervation, which preſented it ſelf to them: But when they mutinied and claſh'd their Targets in a threatning manner, he was overpowered and forced to go, and turning about at parting, ſaid, *You* Octavius *and* Petronius, *and the reſt of the Commanders which are preſent, you ſee the Neceſſity of going which I lye under, and ye cannot but be ſenſible of the Indignities and*

*and Violence which is offered to my Perſon; however out of tenderneſs to the Honour of the* Romans, *declare to all the World, that* Craſſus *periſh'd rather by the Subtilty of his Enemies, than by the Treaſon and Perfidiouſneſs of his Friends and Countrymen.* But *Octavius* would not ſtay there, but with *Petronius* went down from the Hill; as for the *Lictors*, *Craſſus* bid them be gone. The firſt that met him were two half blood *Grecians*, who leaping from their Horſes, made a profound Reverence to *Craſſus*, and deſired him (in *Greek*) to ſend ſome before him, who might ſee that *Syrena* himſelf was coming towards them, his Retinue diſarmed and not having ſo much as their wearing Swords along with them; but *Craſſus* anſwered, That if he had but the leaſt Concern for his Life, he would never have intruſted himſelf in their Hands; but ſent two Brothers, the *Roſcii* by Name, to take an Account how accoutred, and in what Numbers they came, and them *Syrena* ordered immediately to be ſeized, and himſelf with his principal Officers came up to him upon the Spur, and greeting him, ſays he, *This is a moſt undecent Spectacle, a* Roman *Emperor on Foot, whilſt I and my Train are on Horſe-back:* But *Craſſus* replyed, That there was no Error committed on either ſide, for they both

both met according to the Cuſtom of their own Country, *Syrena* told him that from that time there was a League betwixt the King his Maſter and the *Romans*, but that *Craſſus* muſt go with him to the River to ſign it; *for you* Romans (ſays he) *are ſomething forgetful of your Articles and Agreements, and therefore need ſome remarkable Sign to keep it in your Memory*, and withal reach'd out his Hand to him. *Craſſus* therefore gave order that one of his Padds ſhould be brought, *Syrena* told him there was no need he ſhould put himſelf to that trouble, for the King his Maſter preſents him with one; and immediately a Horſe with a Golden Bit, and very rich Trappings, was brought up to him, and himſelf was forcibly put into the Saddle, and his Gentlemen ſwitch'd the Horſe to make the more haſte; but *Octavius* running up got hold of the Bridle, and ſoon after one of the Colonels with *Petronius* and the reſt of the Company came in ſtriving to ſtop the Horſe, and pulling back thoſe who on both ſides of him forced *Craſſus* forward. Thus from pulling and thruſting one another, they came to a Tumult, and ſoon after to Blows. *Octavius* drawing his Sword killed a Groom of one of the *Barbarians*, and one of them getting behind *Octavius* killed him; *Petronius* was not

not arm'd, but being ſtruck on the Breaſt, he fell down from his Horſe, though without hurt; one *Pomaxaithres* killed *Craſſus*, others ſay it was another, and that this Man only cut off his Head and right Hand; for as for thoſe that were by, they had not leiſure to obſerve Particulars, being either killed fighting about *Craſſus*, or uſing their Heels to get to their Comrades on the Hill. But the *Parthians* coming upon them, and ſaying that *Craſſus* had the Puniſhment he juſtly deſerved, *Syrena* bid the reſt to come down from the Hill without fear; ſome of them came down and ſurrendred themſelves, others were ſcatter'd up and down in the Night, (a very few of which got ſafe Home) and others the *Arabians* beating the Field, hunted and put to death. It is generally ſaid, that in all 20000 Men were ſlain, and 10000 taken Priſoners, but *Syrena* ſent the Head and Hand of *Craſſus* to *Hyrodes* the King, into *Armenia*, but himſelf by his Meſſengers ſcattering a Report, That he was bringing *Craſſus* alive to *Seleucia*, made a ridiculous Proceſſion, which by way of ſcorn, he call'd a Triumph. For one *Caius Pacianus*, who of all the Priſoners was moſt like to *Craſſus*, being put into the Habit of the *Barbarians*, and inſtructed to take the Title of *Craſſus* and

Emperor

Emperor from thoſe who ſpoke to him, was brought ſitting upon his Horſe, but before him went a parcel of Trumpeters and Lictors upon their Camels; the Girdles and Purſes of the *Romans* were hung at the end of the Bundles of Rods, and the Heads of the Slain freſh bleeding at the end of their Axes; after them followed the *Seleucian* Minſtrelſie making abundance of Scurrilous and abuſive Reflections upon the Effeminacy and Cowardlineſs of *Craſſus*, with a muſical Cadence: And this Show was ſeen by every Body, but *Syrena* calling together the Senate of *Seleucia*, ſhewed to them a wanton Book of *Ariſtides* called his *Mileſia*, neither was this a Forgery, for it was found amongſt the Spoils of *Roſcius*, and was a good Subject for *Syrena* to droll upon the *Romans*, who were not able even in the time of War to forbear ſuch wanton Writings and Practices; but the People of *Seleucia* had reaſon to commend the Wiſdom of *Æſop*'s Fable of the Sack, ſeeing their General *Syrena* carrying a Bag full of looſe *Mileſian* Sonnets before him, but drawing after him a whole *Parthian Syberis*, or Brothel-houſe, if I may ſo call it, with ſo many Coaches full of his Wenches, which might well be compared to *Vipers* and *Aſpes*; for he reſembled that Fable, where the Front looks great

*He alludes to Æſop's Fable of the Sack, that we put our own Faults in the bottom, and other Mens in the top of it.*

great and terrible with Spears and Arrows, and Darts, and Horſemen, but the Rear conſiſted of looſe Women, and Minſtrels, and Players on Caſtianetta's, and all Inſtruments of Luxury. *Roſcius* indeed is not to be excuſed, but ſure the *Parthians* had forgot (when they mock'd at the *Mileſiaca*) that many of the Royal Line of their *Arſacidæ*, had been born of *Mileſian* and *Ionian* Strumpets. Whilſt theſe things were doing, *Hyrodes* had ſtruck up a Peace with the King of *Armenia*, and made a Match betwixt his Son and the King of *Armenia*'s Daughter; their Feaſtings and Entertainments were very Sumptuous, and ſometimes ſome *Grecian* Compoſitions, ſuitable to the Occaſion, were recited amongſt them, for *Hyrodes* was not altogether ignorant of the *Greek* Language, but *Artuaſdes* was ſo expert in it, as that he wrote Tragedies and Orations, and Hiſtories, ſome of which are ſtill extant. When the Head of *Craſſus* was brought to the Door, the Table was juſt taken away, and one *Jaſon* an Actor of Tragedies ſung the Scene in the *Bacchæ* of *Euripides* concerning *Agave*, he having a gotten a great deal of Applauſe. *Sillaces* coming into the Room, and having *ador'd* the King, threw down the Head of *Craſſus* into the midſt of the Company,

the *Parthians* taking it up with Joy and Acclamations, *Sillaces* by the King's order was made to ſit down, but *Jaſon* laid aſide the Perſon of *Pentheus*, and taking up the Head of *Craſſus*, and acting one inſpir'd by *Bacchus*, he in a rapturous and Enthuſiaſtical manner, pronounced theſe Words.

A. G. *We've hunted down a mighty Stag to Day.*
*And from the Mountains bring a noble Prey.*
Cho. *What happy Hand the fatal Monſter ſlew?*
A. G. *I claim that Honour to my Courage due.*

And this Humour took wonderfully, but in the recital of thoſe Verſes, who ſlew him, *&c. Pomaxathres*, who happen'd to be at Supper, ſtarted up and would have got the Head into his own Hands, for *it is my due*, ſays he, *and no Man's elſe.* The King was hugely pleas'd at this ſcuffle, and according to the Cuſtom of the *Parthians*, gave large Rewards to them, and to *Jaſon* the Actor he gave a Talent. Thus *truly Tragical* was the end of *Craſſus*'s Expedition, but yet the Divine Juſtice failed not to puniſh both *Hyrodes* for

for his Cruelty, and *Syrena*'s Perjury; for *Syrena* not long after was put to death by *Hyrodes*, out of meer Envy to his Glory, and *Hyrodes* himſelf having loſt his Son *Paccorus* (who was ſlain in a fight with the *Romans*) falling into a Diſeaſe which turned to a Dropſie, had Aconite given him by his ſecond Son *Phraates*; the Poiſon working only upon the Diſeaſe, and carrying away the Dropſical matter with it, the King began to recover on the ſudden, ſo that *Phraates* at length was forced to take the ſhorteſt courſe, and ſtifled him with his Pillow.

---

## *The Compariſon of* Crassus *with* Nicias.

IN the Compariſon of theſe two, firſt if we compare the Eſtate of *Nicias* with that of *Craſſus*, we muſt acknowledge *Nicias*'s to be more honeſtly got; for otherwiſe indeed one cannot much approve of enriching ones ſelf by labouring of Mines, the greateſt part of which is done by Malefactors and *Barbarians*, ſome of them too bound, and others periſhing in thoſe

close and unwholesome Places; but yet, if we compare this with the Sequestrations of *Sylla*, and *Crassus*'s undertaking to build Houses ruin'd by Fire, we shall then think *Nicias* came very honestly by his Mony; but *Crassus* publickly and professtly made use of those Arts, as other Men do of Husbandry, and putting out their Mony to Interest; but to deny that his Voice was venal in the Senate, though it was proved upon him, to do Injustice to his Allies, and to court Widows to be made their Heir, and for advantage to conceal Criminals, these are things of which *Nicias* never fell under the least Suspicion, nay, he was rather laught at for giving Mony to Sycophants, meerly out of timerousness, a course indeed that would by no means become *Pericles* and *Aristides*, but necessary for him who by Nature was destitute of good Assurance, and this *Lycurgus* the Orator frankly acknowledg'd to the People, for when he was accused for buying off an Evidence, he said that he was very much pleased that having administred their Affairs for so long a time, he was at last accused rather for giving, than receiving. Again *Nicias* in his Expences, was of a more publick Spirit than *Crassus*, prideing himself much in the Dedication of Temples, indowing of Schools, and adorning

dorning Proceſſions, but the Expences of *Craſſus*, only in Feaſting ſo many *Myriads* of People, was much greater than the whole Eſtate of *Nicias*, together with what he ſpent upon good Accounts, ſo that here we may ſee confirm'd that old Obſervation, That Vice is an unequal thing and unſupportable to it ſelf, for what theſe two great Perſons infamouſly got, they expended very honourably, and let ſo much be ſaid of their Eſtates: As for their Management of publick Affairs, I ſee not that any Craft or Injuſtice or Arbitrary Action can be objected to *Nicias*, but *Craſſus* is generally blam'd for his changeableneſs in his Friendſhips and Enmities, for his Unfaithfulneſs, and his Ungentleman like Proceedings, for he himſelf could not deny that to compaſs the Conſulſhip he hired Men to lay violent Hands upon *Domitius* and *Cato*. Then at the meeting for the diſpoſing of the Proconſulſhips, many were wounded and four outright killed, and this puts me in mind of a Paſſage, which I had forgot in the Relation of his Life, that he ſtruck with his Fiſt one *Lucius Analius* a Senator for contradicting of him, and drove him out of the Court bleeding. As *Craſſus* was to be blamed for his Tyrannical and Arbitrary Courſes, ſo is *Nicias* no leſs to be blamed for his

timerousness and meanness of Spirit, which made him submit himself to the meanest, and most profligate sort of Villains, but in this respect, *Crassus* shewed himself more Noble-spirited and Magnanimous, who having to do, not with such as *Cleon*, or *Hyperbolus*, but with the Magnificence of *Cæsar*, and the three Triumphs of *Pompey*, would not stoop, but bravely bore up against their joint Interests, and in the Office of Censor he surpassed the Dignity even of *Pompey* himself; for a Minister that truly loves his Country, ought not to regard how invidious the thing is, but how noble and useful, and by the greatness of his Interest to over-power Envy, but if he will be always aiming at security and quiet, and yield to *Alcibiades* upon the Bench, and to the *Lacedemonians* at *Pylus*, there are opportunities enough of retirement, and he may sit out of the noise of Business, and weave to himself Garlands of dull quiet and inactivity. His desire of Peace indeed, and to finish that tedious War, was a Divine and truly *Grecian* design, nor does *Crassus* deserve to be compar'd to him on this account, although he had enlarged the *Roman* Empire from the *Caspian* Sea to the *Indian* Ocean; however in a State where there is some sense of Virtue left, a powerful Man ought not

to

to give way to the ill affected, or expoſe the Government to thoſe that are uncapable of it, nor ſuffer high Truſts to be committed to thoſe who want common Honeſty. This did *Nicias*, who by his Connivance, rais'd *Cleon*, a Fellow remarkable for nothing, but his loud Voice and brazen Face, to the Command of an Army; indeed I do not commend *Craſſus* who in the War with *Spartacus*, was more forward to fight, than became a diſcreet General, though he was put upon it by a point of Honour, leſt that *Pompey* by his coming ſhould rob him of the Glory of the Action, as *Mummius* did *Metellus* at the taking of *Corinth*; but *Nicias*'s Proceedings are inexcuſable, for he did not yield up an Opportunity of getting Honour and Advantage to his Competitor, but thinking that the Expedition would be very hazardous, reſolv'd to take care of one, and left the Common-Wealth to ſhift for it ſelf; and when as *Themiſtocles*, leſt that a mean and pittiful Fellow ſhould ruin the State, by his Conduct in the *Perſian* War, bought him off from his Command, and *Cato* in a moſt perplex'd and critical Conjuncture, ſtood for the Tribuneſhip for the ſake of his Country, *Nicias* that reſerved himſelf for trifling Expeditions, ſuch as for *Minoas Cythera*, and the miſerable *Meleans*, if

there be occaſion to come to Blows with the *Lacedemonians*, ſneaks out of his Generalſhip, and betrays to the Unskilfulneſs and Raſhneſs of *Cleon* the Fleet, the Sea-men, and his whole Country together, with an Army that needed and deſerved a moſt skilful Commander. I ſay, ſuch a Man is not to be thought ſo much careleſs of his own Fame, as of the Intereſt and Preſervation of his Country. By this means it came to paſs he was in a ſort preſt for the *Sicilian* War, Men generally believing that he was backward in it, not ſo much for the Difficulty of the Enterprize, as out of his immoderate Love of his Privacy and Eaſe: But yet this is a great ſign of his Integrity, that though he was always averſe from War, and unwilling to Command, yet they always pitched upon him as the beſt experienced and ableſt General they had; On the other ſide *Craſſus* could never have attain'd to it, unleſs by meer Neceſſity in the ſervile War, *Pompey* and *Metellus* and the two *Lucullus*'s being abſent, although at that time he was at his higheſt pitch of Intereſt and Reputation.

THE

# EUMENES.



# THE LIFE OF *EUMENES*,

*Tranſlated from the* Greek.

## VOLUME III.

*Duris* reports that *Eumenes* the *Cardian* was the Son of a poor Waggoner, in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, yet liberally educated, both as a Schollar and a Soldier; and that while he was but young, *Philip* paſſing through *Cardia* diverted himſelf with a ſight of the Training, and other Exerciſes of the Youth of that Place, among whom *Eumenes* performing with the greateſt Addreſs and Activity;

Activity; *Philip* was ſo pleaſed with him, as to take him into his Service. But they ſeem to ſpeak more probably, who tell us, That *Philip* advanc'd *Eumenes* for the Friendſhip he bore to his Father, whoſe Gueſt he had ſometime been. After the Death of *Philip*, he continued in the Service of *Alexander*, with the Title of his Principal Secretary, but in as great Favour as the moſt intimate of his Familiars, being eſteemed as wiſe, and faithful, as any Perſon about Court: So that he went General in the Expedition againſt *India*, and ſucceeded in the Command of *Perdiccas*, when *Perdiccas* advanced to that of *Hephæſtion* then newly deceaſed. Wherefore after the Death of *Alexander*, when *Neoptolemus* who had been Captain of his Life-guard, ſaid, That himſelf had followed *Alexander* with Shield and Spear, but *Eumenes* only with Pen and Paper, the *Macedonians* laught at him, as knowing very well that beſides other particular marks of Favour, the King had done him the Honour to make him a kind of Kinſman to himſelf by Marriage. For *Alexander*'s firſt Miſtreſs in *Aſia*, by whom he had his Son *Hercules*, was *Barſine* the Daughter of *Artabazus*: Now, in the famous Diſtribution of the *Perſian* Ladies amongſt his Captains, *Alexander* gave her Siſter *Apame* to *Ptolomy*,

*Ptolomy*, but *Barſine* to *Eumenes*. Notwithſtanding he frequently incurred *Alexander*'s Diſpleaſure, particularly once upon the Score of *Hephæſtion:* For the Quarrels that had been taken up for *Eumenes*, *Hephæſtion* aſſigned to *Euijus* a Muſician. Whereat *Eumenes* in a Rage, and *Mentor* came to *Alexander*, and aloud upbraided him, and told him, That the way to be regarded was to throw away their Arms, and turn Fidlers, or Tragedians, inſomuch that *Alexander* took their part and chid *Hephæſtion*. But ſoon after changed his Mind, and was angry with *Eumenes*, and accounted the Freedom he had taken, to be rather intended as an Affront to the King, than a Reflexion upon *Hephæſtion*. Afterwards, when *Nearchus* with a Fleet was to be ſent into the Gulph of *Perſia*, *Alexander* borrowed Mony of his Friends (his own Treaſury being exhauſted) and would have had 300 Talents of *Eumenes*; but he ſent a hundred only, pretending that 'twas not without great difficulty he had raiſed ſo much. *Alexander* neither complained, nor took the Mony; but gave private order to ſet *Eumenes* his Tent on Fire, deſigning to take him in a manifeſt Lye, when his Mony was carried out; but before that could be done, the Tent was conſumed, and *Alexander*

*ander* repented of his Orders, all his Papers being burnt. Now the Gold and Silver which was melted down in the Fire, being afterwards digged up was found to be more than 1000 Talents, yet *Alexander* took none of it, and only writ to the ſeveral Princes to ſend new Copies of the Papers that were burnt, and ordered them to be delivered to *Eumenes*.

Another difference happen'd between him and *Hephæſtion* concerning a Gift, and a great deal of ill Language paſſed between them, yet *Eumenes* ſtill continued in Favour. But *Hephæſtion* dying ſoon after, the King took it very much to Heart, and preſuming all thoſe that differed with *Hephæſtion* in his Life-time, did now rejoice at his Death, uſed great Strangeneſs and Severity towards them, eſpecially towards *Eumenes*, whom he often twitted with his Quarrels, and ill Language to *Hephæſtion*. But he being a wiſe and dextrous Courtier, made advantage of what had done him prejudice, and ſtrook in with the King's humour of honouring his Friend's Memory, ſuggeſting divers Inventions to do him honour, and contributing very largely and readily towards erecting him a ſtately Monument. After *Alexander*'s Death, a diſpute hap'ning between his own *Phalanx*, and his more intimate

intimate Friends; *Eumenes*, though in his Judgment he inclined to the latter, yet in his Words and Action ſtood neuter, as if he thought it unbecoming him who was a Stranger, to interpoſe in the private Quarrels of the *Macedonians*. And when the reſt of *Alexander*'s Friends left *Babylon*, he ſtayed behind, and in great Meaſure pacified the Foot, and diſpoſed them towards an Accommodation. When the Officers had agreed among themſelves, and quelled the Mutiny of the Soldiers, they ſhared the ſeveral Commands and Signories, and made *Eumenes* Governor of *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, and all the Coaſt upon the *Pontic* Sea, as far as *Trapezoud*, which at that time was not ſubject to the *Macedonians* (for *Ariarathes* kept it as King) but *Leonnatus* and *Antigonus* with a great Army were to put him in poſſeſſion of it. *Antigonus* (being now grown haughty, and deſpiſing all Men) took no notice of *Perdiccas*'s Letters; *Leonnatus* with his Army came down into *Phrygia* to the Service of *Eumenes*; but being viſited by *Hecatæus*, the Tyrant of the *Cardians*, and requeſted rather to relieve *Antipater* and the *Macedonians* that were beſieged in *Lamia*; he reſolved upon that Expedition, inviting *Eumenes* to a ſhare in it, and endeavouring to reconcile him

him to *Hecatæus*. For there was an hereditary Feud between them upon ſome politick Account, and *Eumenes* had often declared openly that *Hecatæus* was a Tyrant, and had exhorted *Alexander* to reſtore the *Cardians* their Liberty. Wherefore at this time alſo he declined the Expedition propoſed, pretending that he feared leſt *Antipater*, who already hated him, ſhould for that reaſon, and to gratifie *Hecatæus*, kill him. *Leonnatus* ſo far believed, as to impart to *Eumenes* his whole Deſign, which as he pretended and gave out, was to aid *Antipater*, but in truth was to ſeize the Kingdom of *Macedon*; and he ſhewed him Letters from *Cleopatra*, wherein ſhe ſeemed to invite him to *Pella*, with a deſign to marry him. But *Eumenes*, whether fearing *Antipater*, or looking upon *Leonnatus* as a fond, raſh, unconſtant, and therefore loſt Man, ſtole away from him by Night, taking with him all his Men (which were three hundred Horſe, and two hundred of his own Servants armed,) and all his Gold, which was to the value of five thouſand Talents of Silver, and fled to *Perdiccas*, diſcovered to him *Leonnatus*'s Deſign, and thereby gained great Intereſt in him, and was made of his Council. Soon after *Perdiccas* with a great Army, which he led himſelf, conducted

cted *Eumenes* into *Cappadocia*, and having taken *Ariarathes* Priſoner, and ſubdued the whole Country, declared him Governor of it. Who diſpoſed of the Chief Cities to his own Friends, and made Captains of Garriſons, Judges, Receivers, and other Officers of ſuch as he thought fit himſelf. *Perdiccas* not at all interpoſing. Notwithſtanding, *Eumenes* ſtill waited on *Perdiccas*, both out of reſpect to him, and a deſire not to be abſent from Court. But *Perdiccas* (believing he was able enough alone to ſecure his March forwards, but the Country he left behind him might ſtand in need of an active and faithful Governor) when he came into *Cilicia* diſmiſt *Eumenes*, under colour of ſending him to his Command, but in truth to ſecure *Armenia*, which was Frontier to it, and unſettled through the Practices of *Neoptolemus*. Him, though a proud and vain Man, *Eumenes* endeavoured to gain by Civility; but to balance the *Macedonian* Foot, whom he found both inſolent, and very ſtout, he contrived to raiſe an Army of Horſe, excuſing from Tax and Contribution all thoſe of the Country that were able to ſerve on Horſeback, and buying up great ſtore of Horſes, which he gave among ſuch of his own Men as he moſt confided in. Inflaming the Courage of his Soldiers, by many Gifts and Honours, and inuring

uring their Bodies to Service, by often Marching and Exerciſing; ſo that the *Macedonians* ſome of them were aſtoniſht, others overjoyed to ſee that in ſo ſhort a time he had got together no leſs than 6300 able Horſe.

Now when *Craterus* and *Antipater*, having ſubdued *Greece*, were advanced into *Aſia*, with intentions to quell the Power of *Perdiccas*; and were reported to deſign an Impreſſion upon *Cappadocia*; *Perdiccas* being himſelf to March againſt *Ptolomy*, made *Eumenes* Commander in Chief of all the Forces of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, and to that purpoſe wrote Letters, requiring *Alcetas* and *Neoptolemus* to be obedient to *Eumenes*, and giving full Commiſſion to *Eumenes*, to diſpoſe and order all things as he thought fit. *Alcetas* flatly refuſed to ſerve, becauſe his *Macedonians* (he ſaid) were aſhamed to fight againſt *Antipater*, and loved *Craterus* ſo well, they were ready to receive him for their Commander. *Neoptolemus* deſigned Treachery againſt *Eumenes*, but was diſcovered; but being ſummoned, refuſed to Obey, and put himſelf in a Poſture of Defence. Here *Eumenes* firſt found the Benefit of his own Foreſight and Contrivance, for his Foot being beaten, he routed *Neoptolemus* with his Horſe, and took all his Carriage; and purſuing cloſe upon

upon the Phalanx which he had broken, and diſordered, obliged the Men to lay down their Arms, and take an Oath to ſerve under him. *Neoptolemus*, with ſome few Stragglers which he rallied, fled to *Craterus* and *Antipater*. From them came an Embaſſy to *Eumenes*, inviting him over to their ſide, whereby he ſhould have the advantage of being ſecur'd in the Government he was poſſeſt of, and being put into further Command by them of obliging his Enemy *Antipater* to become his Friend, and keeping *Craterus* his Friend from turning to be his Enemy. To which *Eumenes* reply'd, That he could not ſo ſuddenly be reconciled to his old Enemy *Antipater*, eſpecially ſince he ſaw him uſe his Friends like Enemies; but was ready to reconcile *Craterus* to *Perdiccas*, upon any juſt and equitable Terms; but if his deſires ſhould prove unreaſonable, he was reſolv'd to aſſiſt the injured to his laſt Breath, and would rather loſe his Life than betray his Word. *Antipater* receiving this Anſwer, took time to conſider upon the whole Matter; when *Neoptolemus* after his defeat arrived, and acquainted them with the ill ſucceſs of his Management, and requeſted both of them to aſſiſt him; but eſpecially *Craterus*, becauſe the *Macedonians* loved him ſo exceſſively, that if they ſaw but his Hat, or

heard his Voice, they would all Arm and follow him. And in truth *Craterus* had a mighty Name among them, and the Soldiers after *Alexander*'s death were extreamly fond of him, remembring how he had often for their ſakes incurred *Alexander*'s diſpleaſure, reſtrain'd him from following the *Perſian* Faſhions, to which he very much inclined, and keeping up the Cuſtoms of his Country, when through Pride and Delicacy they began to be diſregarded. *Craterus* therefore ſent *Antipater* into *Cilicia*, and himſelf and *Neoptolemus* march'd with a great Army againſt *Eumenes*; expecting to come upon him unawares, and to find his Army diſordered with revelling after the late Victory. Now that *Eumenes* ſhould ſuſpect his coming, and be prepared to receive him, is an Argument of his Vigilance, but no great one of his Sagacity: But that he ſhould contrive both to conceal from his Enemies the ill Poſture he was in, and from his own Men whom they were to fight with, ſo as to ſerve againſt *Craterus* himſelf, not knowing he commanded the Enemy, this indeed ſeems to ſhew the peculiar Addreſs and Talent of a great General. He gave out therefore that *Neoptolemus*, and *Pigris*, with ſome *Cappadocian* and *Paphlagonian* Horſe, and deſigning to March by Night, he fell into

a

a deep ſleep, and had an extraordinary Dream. For he thought he ſaw two *Alexanders* ready to ingage, each Commanding his ſeveral Phalanx, the one aſſiſted by *Minerva*, the other by *Ceres*; and that after a hot diſpute, he on whoſe ſide *Minerva* was, was beaten, and *Ceres* gathering the Corn, wove it into a Crown for the Victor. This Viſion *Eumenes* interpreted as boading Succeſs to himſelf, who was to fight for a fruitful Corn-Country, the whole being ſowed with Corn, and the Fields ſo thick with it, that they made a beautiful ſhew of a long Peace: And he was farther confirm'd in his Opinion, when he underſtood that the Enemy bore *Minerva* and *Alexander* in their Colours; wherefore he alſo bore *Ceres* and *Alexander*, and gave his Men orders to make Garlands for themſelves, and to dreſs their Arms with Wreaths of Corn; he found himſelf under many Temptations to diſcover to his Captains and Officers whom they were to engage with, and not to conceal a Secret of ſuch moment in his own Breaſt alone, yet he kept to his firſt Reſolutions, and ventur'd to run the hazard of his own Judgment. (When he came to give Battel,) he would not truſt any *Macedonian* to ingage *Craterus*, but appointed two Troops of Foreign Horſe, commanded by *Pharnabazus*, Son to *Artabazus*, and

*Phœnix* of *Tenedos*, with Order to charge as ſoon as ever they ſaw the Enemy, without giving them leaſure to ſpeak or retire, or receiving any Herald or Trumpet from them; for he exceedingly fear'd the *Macedonians*, leſt, knowing *Craterus*, they ſhould go over to his ſide. He himſelf with 300 of his beſt Horſe led the right Wing againſt *Neoptolemus*. When the Enemy having paſt a little Hill came in view, and *Eumenes* his Men charged with more than ordinary briskneſs, *Craterus* was amazed, and bitterly reproach'd *Neoptolemus* for deceiving him, with hopes of the *Macedonians* revolt, but he encourag'd his Men to do bravely, and forthwith charg'd. The firſt Ingagement was very fierce, and the Spears being ſoon broke to pieces, they came to cloſe fighting with their Swords; and here *Craterus* did by no means diſhonour *Alexander*, but ſlew ſeveral of his Enemies, and repuls'd divers that aſſaulted him; but at laſt receiv'd a Wound in his Side, from a *Thracian*, and fell off his Horſe. Being down, many not knowing him went over him, but *Gorgias* one of *Eumenes* his Captains knew him, and alighting from his Horſe guarded his Body, which was now in an ill Condition, and even in the very Agony of Death. In the mean time *Neoptolemus* and *Eumenes* were ingaged, who being inveterate and mortal Enemies, ſought for one another, but miſſed

miſſed for the two firſt Courſes, but in the third diſcovering one another, they drew their Swords, and with loud Shouts they immediately charged, their Horſes ſtriking againſt one another like two Gallies, they quitted their Reins, and taking mutual hold they drew off one anothers Helmets, and their Armour from their Shoulders; while they were thus ſtripping one another, each of their Horſes went from under them, and they fell together to the Grouud, each of them keeping their hold and wreſtling. *Neoptolemus* getting up firſt, *Eumenes* wounded him in the Hamm, and withal got upon his Feet before him, *Neoptolemus* ſtaying himſelf upon one Knee, the other Leg being grievouſly wounded, and himſelf undermoſt, fought couragiouſly, though his ſtrokes were not Mortal, but receiving a blow in the Neck he fell down and fainted. *Eumenes* tranſported with Rage, and inveterate hatred to him, fell to reviling and ſtripping of him, and perceived not that his Sword was ſtill in his Hand, wherewith he wounded *Eumenes* in the Groin near the privy Parts, but in truth rather frighted than hurt him; his blow being faint for want of ſtrength. Having ſtript the dead Body, ill as he was of the Wounds he had receiv'd in his Legs and Arms, he took Horſe again, and made

towards the left Wing of his Army, which he ſuppoſed to be ſtill ingaged. Hearing of the Death of *Craterus*, he rode up to him, and finding there was yet ſome Life in him, alighted from his Horſe and wept, and laying his right Hand upon him, inveighed bitterly againſt *Neoptolemus*, and lamented both *Craterus* his Misfortune, and his own hard Fate, that he ſhould be neceſſitated to ingage againſt an old Friend and Acquaintance, and either do or ſuffer ſo much Miſchief.

This Victory *Eumenes* obtained about ten Days after the former, and got a great Reputation for atchieving it, partly by his Conduct, and partly by his Valour.

But on the contrary it created him great Envy both among his own, and his Enemies, that he a Stranger, and a Foreigner, ſhould imploy the Forces and Arms of *Macedon*, to cut off one of the braveſt and moſt conſiderable Men among them. Had the News of this defeat come timely enough to *Perdiccas*, he had doubtleſs been the greateſt of all the *Macedonians*; but now he being ſlain in a Mutiny in *Ægypt*, two days before the News arrived, the *Macedonians* in a Rage decreed *Eumenes* his Death, giving joint-Commiſſion to *Antigonus* and *Antipater* to proſecute the War againſt him. Paſſing by Mount *Ida*, where the King had a breed of Horſes,

*Eumenes*

*Eumenes* took as many as he had occaſion for, and ſent an Account of his doing ſo to the Maſters of his Horſe. Whereat *Antipater* is ſaid to have laugh'd, and profeſt to admire the warineſs of the Man, who ſeemed to think that an account of the King's Affairs would either be expected from him, or given to him. *Eumenes* had deſign'd to engage in the Plains of *Lydia* near *Sardis*, both becauſe his chief Strength lay in Horſe, and to let *Cleopatra* ſee how Powerful he was: But at her particular Requeſt (for ſhe was afraid to give any Umbrage to *Antipater*) he marched into the upper *Phrygia*, and wintered in *Celænæ*, when *Alcetas*, *Polemon*, and *Docimus* diſputing with him, who ſhould Command in Chief: *You know* (ſaid he) *the old Saying, That Deſtruction regards no Punctilio's.* Having promis'd his Soldiers pay within three Days, he ſold them all the Farms and Caſtles in the Country, together with the Men and Beaſts wherewith they abounded; every Captain or Officer that bought, did with *Eumenes*'s conſent employ his Machines to ſtorm the Place, and divided the Spoil among his Company, proportionably to every Man's Arrears. Hereby *Eumenes* came again to be beloved, ſo that when Letters were found thrown about the Camp by the Enemy, promiſing one hundred Talents,

beſides great Honours to any one that ſhould kill *Eumenes*, the *Macedonians* were extreamly offended, and made an Order that from that time forward one thouſand of their beſt Men ſhould continually guard his Perſon, and keep ſtrict Watch about him by Night in their ſeveral turns. This Order was chearfully obey'd, and they gladly received of *Eumenes* ſuch Honours as Princes uſe to confer upon their Favourites: For he had power to beſtow purple Hats and Cloaks, which among the *Macedonians* is one of the greateſt Honours the King can give. Now good Fortune puffs up narrow Souls, to imagine themſelves High and Mighty, and looking down upon the World; but a truly noble and reſolved Spirit, in Diſtreſs and Miſadventure raiſes it ſelf, and becomes more conſpicuous, and ſuch was *Eumenes*. For having by the Treaſon of one of his own Men, loſt the Field to *Antigonus* at *Orcyni* in *Cappadocia*, in his flight he gave the Traitor no opportunity to eſcape to the Enemy, but immediately ſeized and hanged him. Then in his flight taking a contrary courſe to his Purſuers, he ſtole by them unawares, returned to the place where the Battel had been fought, and there encamped. There he gather'd up the dead Bodies, and burnt them with the Doors and Windows of the neighbouring

ing

ing Villages, and raiſed heaps of Earth upon their Graves, inſomuch that *Antigonus*, who came thither ſoon after him, was aſtoniſhed at his great Courage, and firm Reſolution. Lighting afterwards upon *Antigonus* his Carriage, he might eaſily have taken many Captives, both Bond and Freemen, and much Wealth collected from the Spoils of ſo many Wars; but he feared leſt his Men overladen with ſo great Booty, might become unfit for ſo many Marches, and through ſoftneſs unwilling to hold out ſo long time as he deſigned; For upon thoſe two things he laid the main ſtreſs of his Action, expecting to tire *Antigonus* into ſome other courſe. But then conſidering it would be extreamly difficult to reſtrain the *Macedonians* from Plunder, when it ſeemed to offer it ſelf, he gave them Order to provide themſelves, and bait their Horſes, and then attack the Enemy. In the mean time he ſent privately to *Menander*, who had care of all this Baggage, pretending a Concern for him upon the Score of old Friendſhip and Acquaintance: and therefore adviſing him to quit the Plain, and inſconce himſelf upon the ſide of a neighbouring Hill, where the Horſe might not be able to hem him in. When *Menander* ſenſible of his danger had truſſed up his Carriage and decamped, *Eumenes* openly ſent his Scouts to diſco-

discover the Enemies Posture, and commanded his Men to Arm, and Bridle their Horses, as designing immediately to give Battel; but the Scouts returning with News that *Menander* had secured so difficult a Post, it was impossible to take him, *Eumenes* pretending to be aggrieved with the disappointment, drew off his Men another way. 'Tis said, that when *Menander* reported this afterwards to *Antigonus*, and the *Macedonians* commended *Eumenes*, imputing it to his singular good Nature, that having it in his Power to make Slaves of their Children, and ravish their Wives, he forbore and spar'd them all; *Antigonus* should thus reply, *Alas, good Man, he had no regard to us, but to himself, being loath to wear so many Shackles when he designed to fly.* From that time *Eumenes* daily flying and wandring about, perswaded divers of his Men to disband, whether out of kindness to them, or unwillingness to lead about such a Body of Men, as were too few to engage, and too many to fly undiscovered. Being come to the Cittadel of *Nora* in the Confines of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia* with fifteen hundred Horse, and two hundred Foot well appointed, he again dismist as many of his Friends as desir'd it, thro' fear either of the straitness of the Place, or want of Provisions, and imbracing them with all demonstrations

ons

ons of kindneſs, gave them Licenſe to depart. *Antigonus*, when he came before this Fort, deſired to have an Interview with *Eumenes* before the Siege; but he returned Anſwer, *That* Antigonus *had many Friends who might Command in his Room; but they whom* Eumenes *defended, had no body to ſubſtitute if he ſhould miſcarry; wherefore if* Antigonus *thought it worth while to treat with him, he ſhould firſt ſend him Hoſtages*; and when *Antigonus* required that *Eumenes* ſhould firſt come to him, as being the greater Man; he replied, *While I am able to wield a Sword, I ſhall think no Man greater than my ſelf.* At laſt, when according to *Eumenes* his Demand, *Antigonus* ſent his own Nephew *Ptolomy* to the Fort, *Eumenes* went out to him, and they mutually imbraced with great Civility and Friendſhip, as having formerly been very intimate. After long Converſation, *Eumenes* making no mention of his own Pardon and Security; but inſiſting that he would be confirmed in his ſeveral Governments, and withal be honourably rewarded for his Service, all that were preſent were aſtoniſhed at his Courage and Galantry, and many others of the *Macedonians* flocked to ſee what manner of Perſon *Eumenes* was, for ſince the Death of *Craterus* no Man had been ſo much talked on in the Army. But *Antigonus*

*gonus* being afraid for him, leſt he might ſuffer ſome violence, firſt commanded the Soldiers to keep off, calling out and throwing Stones at them that preſſed forwards. At laſt embracing *Eumenes* in his Arms, and keeping off the Crowd with his Guards, not without great difficulty he returned him ſafe into the Fort. Then *Antigonus* having built a Wall round *Nora*, left a Force ſufficient to carry on the Siege, and drew off the reſt of his Army; *Eumenes* was beleaguered and kept Garriſon, having plenty of Corn, and Water, and Salt, but no other thing, either for Food or Delicacy; yet with ſuch as he had, he kept a chearful Table for his Friends, inviting them ſeverally in their turns, and ſeaſoning his Entertainment with a gentle and affable Behaviour. For he had a ſweet Countenance, and looked not like a rough battered Soldier, but was ſmooth and florid, and his Shape as delicate, as if his Limbs had been carved by Art in the moſt accurate Proportions. In Converſation he was not quick, but courteous and obliging. The greateſt Diſtreſs of the beſieged was the ſtraitneſs of the Place they were in, their Quarters being very narrow, and the whole place but two Furlongs in compaſs; ſo that both they, and their Horſes, fed without Exerciſe; wherefore not only to prevent the reſtineſs that both might contract

tract by that large living, but to have them in condition to fly, if occaſion required, he aſſigned a Room fourteen Cubits long (the largeſt in all the Fort) for the Men to walk in, directing them to begin their walk gently, and ſo gradually mend their Pace. And for the Horſes, he tied them to the Roof with great Halters, which being faſtned about their Necks, with a Pully he gently raiſed them, 'till ſtanding upon the Ground with their hinder Feet, they juſt touched it with the very ends of their Forefeet. In this Poſture the Grooms plied them with Whips and Noiſe, provoking them to Curvet, and Caper, endeavouring to ſtand upon their Forefeet, and thus their whole Body was exerciſed, 'till they were all in a Fome, and groaned again; an excellent ſort of Exerciſe this, whether for ſtrength or ſpeed; and then he gave them their Corn boiled, that they might ſooner diſpatch, and better digeſt it.

The Siege continuing long, *Antigonus* received advice that *Antipater* was dead in *Macedon*, and that Affairs were imbroiled by the Differences of *Caſſander* and *Polyperchon*, whereupon he conceived no mean hopes, purpoſing to make himſelf Maſter of all, and in order to his Deſign to bring over *Eumenes*, that he might have his Advice and Aſſiſtance. Wherefore he ſent *Hiero-*

*Hieronymus* to treat with him, propoſing a certain Oath, which *Eumenes* firſt corrected, and then referred himſelf to the *Macedonians* themſelves that beſieged him, to be judged by them, which of the two Forms were the moſt equitable. *Antigonus* in the beginning of his had ſlightly mentioned the Kings, but all the ſequel referred to himſelf alone: but *Eumenes* would have the Form of it to *Olympias* and the Kings, and would ſwear not to be true to *Antigonus* only, but to them, and to have the ſame Friends and Enemies not with *Antigonus*, but with *Olympias* and the Kings. This Form the *Macedonians* thinking the more reaſonable, ſwore *Eumenes* according to it, and raiſed the Siege, ſending alſo to *Antigonus*, that he ſhould ſwear in the ſame Form to *Eumenes*. Now all the Hoſtages of the *Cappadocians* which *Eumenes* had in *Nora* he returned, and from thoſe they were returned to, took War-horſes, Beaſts of Carriage, and Tents in exchange, and rallying thoſe Men which from the time of his flight were ſcattered, and wandering about the Country, got together a Body of near a thouſand Horſe, and with them fled from *Antigonus*, whom he juſtly feared; for he had not only ordered him to be firſt blocked up, but had ſent a very ſharp Anſwer to the *Macedonians*, for admitting *Eume-*

*nes*

*nes* his Amendments of the Oath. While *Eumenes* was flying he received Letters from them in *Macedonia*, who were jealous of *Antigonus* his Greatneſs, to wit, from *Olympias*, inviting him thither, to take the Charge and Government of *Alexander*'s little Son, againſt whom there was divers Plots. Other Letters he had from *Polyperchon* and *Philip*, the King, requiring him to make War upon *Antigonus*, making him General of all the Forces in *Cappadocia*, and impowring him out of the Revenue of *Cyndos*, to take fifty Talents to reimburſe himſelf, and levy as much more as he thought neceſſary to carry on the War: they write alſo to the ſame effect to *Antigenes*, and *Teutamus*, the Chief Officers of the *Argyraſpides*, who, receiving theſe Letters, treat *Eumenes* with a ſhew of reſpect and kindneſs, but it was apparent enough they were full of Envy and Emulation, diſdaining to give place to him. Now their Envy, *Eumenes* very fairly declined, by refuſing to accept the Mony, as if he had not needed it; and their Ambition, and Emulation, who were neither able to Govern, nor willing to obey, he conquered by turning it into Superſtition. For he pretended that *Alexander* had appeared to him in a Dream, and ſhewed him a Regal Pavilion richly furniſhed, with a Throne in it; and told him

him if they would ſit in Council there, he himſelf would be preſent, and proſper all the Conſultations, and Atchievements, upon which they ſhould enter in his Name. *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* were eaſily prevailed upon to believe this, being unwilling to come and conſult *Eumenes*, as much as he diſdained to wait at another Man's Threſhold. Wherefore they erected a Tent Royal, and a Throne, and called it *Alexander*'s, and there they met to conſult upon all Affairs of moment. Afterwards they advanced into the upper Country, and in their March met with *Peuceſtus*, Friend to *Eumenes*, and with other of the Lords, who joined Forces with them, and greatly encouraged the *Macedonians* with the Number and appearance of their Men. But they themſelves having ſince *Alexander*'s Deceaſe been from under Government, and lived with great Delicacy, and ſo becoming ſoft and effeminate, and imagining themſelves great Princes, which fond conceit of theirs was daily pampered by the Flattery of the *Barbarians*; all theſe things concurring, made them rude to one another, and unconverſable, and all of them unmeaſurably Flatter the *Macedonians*, inviting them to Revels, and Sacrifices, 'till in a ſhort time they brought the Camp to be a diſſolute Place of Entertainment, by

by every Captain's endeavouring to make a Party among the Commons, as in all Democracies is uſual. *Eumenes* perceiving they deſpiſed one another, and all of them feared him, and ſought an opportunity to kill him; pretended to be in want of Mony, and took up many Talents, of thoſe eſpecially who moſt hated him, to make them both confide in him, and forbear all Violence to him for fear of loſing their own Mony. Thus his Enemies Eſtates were the Guard of his Perſon, and by receiving Mony he purchaſed Safety, for which other Men uſe to give it. Now the *Macedonians*, while there was no ſhew of Danger, made all their Court, and came to the Levèe of thoſe that treated, and preſented them; and they had their Guards, and affected to appear Generals. But when *Antigonus* came upon them with a great Army, and their Affairs themſelves ſeem'd to call out for a true General, then not only the common Soldiers caſt their Eyes upon *Eumenes*, but theſe Men who had appear'd ſo great in a peaceful time of eaſe, ſubmitted all of them to him, and quietly poſted themſelves ſeverally as he appointed them. And when *Antigonus* attempted to paſs the River *Paſitygris*, all the reſt that were appointed to guard the Paſſes, were not ſo much as aware of his March; only *Eumenes* met

and encountered him, ſlew as many of his Men as filled up the River with their Carcaſes, and took 4000 of them Priſoners. Chiefly when *Eumenes* was ſick the *Macedonians* diſcovered that in their Judgment, others would treat handſomely, and make Fire-balls, but he alone knew how to fight and lead an Army. For *Peuceſtas* having made a ſplendid Entertainment in *Perſia*, and given each of the Soldiers a Sheep wherewith to Sacrifice, promiſed himſelf to Command in chief, ſome few days after the Army was to March, and *Eumenes* being dangerouſly Sick, was carried in a Litter without the Body of the Army, that his Reſt might not be diſturb'd. But when they were a little advanc'd, unexpectedly they had a view of the Enemy, who had paſſed the Hills that lay between them, and was marching down into the Plain; ſeeing therefore the glittering of the Enemies Golden Armour, which glar'd in the Sun, the good Order of their March, the Elephants with their Caſtles on their Backs, and the Men in their Purple, (as their manner was when they were going to give Battel) the Front ſtopt their March, and called out for *Eumenes*, for they would not advance a ſtep but under his Conduct; and fixing their Arms in the Ground, gave the Word among themſelves to ſtand, requiring their Officers alſo not

to

to ſtir or ingage, or hazard themſelves without *Eumenes*. News of this being brought to *Eumenes*, he haſtned them that carried his Litter, and put forth his right Hand. As ſoon as the Soldiers ſaw him, they ſaluted him in the *Macedonian* Language, and took up their Shields, and ſtriking them with their Pikes, gave a great Shout, inviting the Enemy to come on, for now they had a Leader. But *Antigonus* underſtanding by ſome Priſoners he had taken, that *Eumenes* was ſick and to that degree as to be carried in a Litter, preſumed it would be no hard matter to tread in pieces the reſt of them, ſince he was ill. Wherefore he made the greater haſte to come up with them and engage. But being come ſo near, as to diſcover how the Enemy was drawn up, and appointed, he was aſtoniſhed, and pauſed for ſome time, at laſt he ſaw the Litter carrying from one Wing of the Army to the other, (and as his manner was) laughing aloud, he ſaid to his Friends, *That Litter there, it ſeems, is the thing that offers us Battel*; but withal he immediately wheeled about with all his Army, and decamped. The other ſide finding a little reſpite, return'd to their former cuſtom of revelling, and aſſuming every Man the Port of a General, took up for their Winter Quarters near the whole Country of the

*Gabeni*, ſo that the Front was quartered near 100 Furlongs from the Rear; which *Antigonus* underſtanding, march'd immediately towards them, taking the worſt way, through a Country that wanted Water, (but the way was ſhort though uneven) hoping if he ſhould ſurprize them thus ſcatter'd in their Winter Quarters, the Soldiers would not eaſily be able to come up time enough, and join with their Officers. But being to paſs through a Country uninhabited, where the Winds were bleak and boiſterous, and the Froſts great, he was very much check'd in his March, and his Men exceedingly tired. The only Relief in this caſe was making continual Fires, whereby his Enemies got notice of his coming. For the *Barbarians* who dwelt on the Mountains bordering upon the Deſart, amazed at the multitude of Fires they ſaw, ſent Meſſengers upon Dromedaries, to acquaint *Peuceſtus*: He being aſtoniſh'd and almoſt ſtruck dead with the News, and finding the reſt in no leſs diſorder, reſolv'd to flee, and get up what Men he could by the way. But *Eumenes* deliver'd him from his great Fear and Trouble, undertaking to ſtop the Enemies Career, that he ſhould arrive three Days later than he was expected. Having perſwaded them, he immediately diſpatched Expreſſes to all Officers, to draw

draw the Men out of their Winter Quarters, and Muſter them with all ſpeed. He himſelf with ſome of the chief Officers rode out, and choſe an eminent place within view of ſuch as travell'd the Deſart; this he fortified and quartered out, and commanded many Fires to be made in it, as the cuſtom is in a Camp. This done, and the Enemies ſeeing the Fire upon the Mountains, Anguiſh and Deſpair ſeized *Antigonus*, ſuppoſing that his Enemies had been long advertis'd of his March, and were prepared to receive him. Wherefore leſt his Army now tired and wearied out with their March ſhould be forced immediately to encounter with freſh Men, who had winter'd well, and were ready for him, quitting the near way, he marched ſlowly thro' the Towns and Villages, to refreſh his Men. But meeting with no ſuch Skirmiſhes as are uſual, when two Armies lie near one another, and being aſſur'd by the People of the Country, that no Army had been ſeen, but only continual Fires in that place, he concluded he had been outwitted by a Stratagem of *Eumenes*, and being very much troubled, advanced towards him, reſolving immediately to give Battel. By this time the greateſt part of the Forces were come together to *Eumenes*, and admiring his Conduct, declared him ſole Commander in Chief of the whole

Army. Whereat *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, Captains of the *Argyraſpides*, being very much offended, and envying *Eumenes*, form'd a Conſpiracy againſt him; and aſſembling the greater part of the Lords and Officers, conſulted when and how to cut him off. When they had unanimouſly agreed, firſt to abuſe his Service, and make him miſcarry in the next Battel, and thence take an occaſion to deſtroy him; *Eudamus* the Maſter of the Elephants, and *Phadimus*, gave *Eumenes* private Advice of this Deſign; not out of Kindneſs, or good Will to him, but leſt they ſhould loſe the Mony they had lent him. *Eumenes* having commended them, retired to his Tent, and telling his Friends he lived among a Herd of wild Beaſts, made his Will, mangled and tore all his Letters, leſt his Correſpondents after his Death ſhould be queſtion'd or puniſh'd for the Intelligence they had given him. Having thus diſpoſed of his Affairs, he thought of letting the Enemy win the Field, or of flying through *Media* and *Armenia*, and ſeizing *Cappadocia*, but came to no Reſolution while his Friends ſtay'd with him. After forecaſting divers things in his Mind, which his changeable Fortune made unſteady and fickle, he at laſt put his Men in Array, and encouraged the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, as for the *Argyraſpides*, they encourag'd him,

him, and bid him be of good Heart, for the Enemy would never be able to ſtand them. For indeed they were the oldeſt of *Philip* and *Alexander*'s Soldiers, try'd Men, that had long made a Trade of War, that had never been beaten or ſo much as foiled, moſt of them 70, none leſs than 60 Years old. Wherefore when they charged *Antigonus* his Men, they cryed out, *You fight againſt your Fathers, you Raſcals*; and furiouſly falling on, routed the whole Troop at once, no Body being able to ſtand them, and the greateſt part dying by their Hands, ſo that *Antigonus* his Foot were routed, but his Horſe got the better, and he became Maſter of the Baggage, through the Cowardiſe of *Peuceſtus*, who behaved himſelf negligently and baſely. While *Antigonus*, not daunted with the loſs of his Infantry, was vigilant and active, and had the advantage of the Ground. For the Place where they fought was a large Field, neither deep, nor hard under Foot, but like the Sea-ſhore, cover'd with a fine ſoft Sand, which the treading of ſo many Men and Horſes, in the time of the Battel, reduc'd to a ſmall white Duſt, that like a Cloud of Lime darkened the Air, ſo that one could not ſee clearly at any diſtance, and ſo made it eaſie for *Antigonus* to take the Carriage unperceived. After the Battel *Teutamus* ſent a Meſſage

to *Antigonus* to demand the Baggage. He made Anſwer, He would not only reſtore it to the *Argyraſpides*, but ſerve them farther in other things, if they would but deliver up *Eumenes*. Whereupon the *Argyraſpides* made a villanous Reſolution, to deliver up this great Man alive into the Hands of his Enemies. So they came to wait upon him, being unſuſpected by him, but watching their opportunity againſt him, ſome lamenting the loſs of the Baggage, ſome encouraging as if he had been Victor, ſome accuſing the reſt of the Captains, till at laſt they all fell upon him, and ſeizing his Sword, bound his Hands behind him with his own Girdle. When *Antigonus* had ſent *Nicanor* to receive him, he begg'd he might be led through the Body of the *Macedonians*, and have liberty to ſpeak to them, neither to requeſt, nor deprecate any thing, but only to adviſe them what would be for their Intereſt. A Silence being made, as he ſtood upon a riſing Ground, he ſtretch'd out his Hands bound and ſaid, *What Trophey, O ye baſeſt of all the* Macedonians, *could* Antigonus *have wiſh'd for, ſo great, as you your ſelves have erected him, in delivering up your General Captive into his Hands? How vile is it when you were Conquerors, to own your ſelves Conquered, for the ſake only of your Baggage, as if it were Wealth,*

*Wealth, not Arms, wherein Victory conſiſted? Nay, you deliver up your* General, *to redeem your Lumber. As for me, I am unvanquiſhed, though a Captive, Conqueror of my Enemies, and betrayed by my Fellow-Soldiers. For you, I adjure you by* Jupiter, *the Protector of Arms, and by all the* Gods *that are the Avengers of Perjury, to kill me here with your own Hands, for 'tis all one; and when I am Murdered yonder, it will be eſteemed your act; nor will* Antigonus *complain, for he deſires not* Eumenes *alive but dead. If ye would withhold your own Hands, releaſe but one of mine, it ſhall ſuffice to do the Work; but if you dare not truſt me with a Sword, throw me bound as I am to wild Beaſts. This if you do I ſhall freely acquit you from the Guilt of my Death, as the moſt juſt and kind of Men to their General.* While *Eumenes* was thus ſpeaking, the reſt of the Soldiers wept for Grief, but the *Argyraſpides* bawled out, to lead him on, and gave not attention to his trifling. For it was nothing ſo grievous the Lamentation of this *Cherſoneſean* Plague, which in thouſands of Battels had annoyed and waſted the *Macedonians*, as it would be for the choiceſt of *Philip* and *Alexander*'s Soldiers, to be defrauded of the Fruits of ſo long ſervice, and in their old Age come to beg their Bread;

bread; beſides that their Wives had lain now three Nights with their Enemies. So they puſhed him on with all Speed and Violence. But *Antigonus* fearing the Multitude (for no Body was left in the Camp) ſent ten of his ſtrongeſt Elephants with divers of his *Mede* and *Parthyæan* Lances to keep off the Preſs. Then he could not endure to have *Eumenes* brought into his Preſence by reaſon of their former Intimacy and Friendſhip; but when they that had taken him had enquired of *Antigonus* how he would have him kept: *As I would* (ſaid he) *on Elephant, or a Lion.* A little after being moved with Compaſſion, he commanded the heavieſt of his Irons to be knock'd off, one of his menial Servants to be admitted to anoint him, and that any of his Friends that were willing ſhould have liberty to viſit him, and bring him what he wanted. Long time he deliberated what to do with him, ſometimes inclining to the Advice and Promiſes of *Nearchus* of *Crete*, and *Demetrius* his Son, who were very earneſt to preſerve *Eumenes*, whilſt all the reſt were unanimouſly inſtant, and importunate to have him taken off. 'Tis reported that *Eumenes* ſhould enquire of *Onomarchus* his Keeper, why *Antigonus* now he had his Enemy in his Hands, would not either forthwith diſpatch or generouſly releaſe

releaſe him? And that *Onomarchus* contumeliouſly anſwered him, *That the Field was a more proper place than this to ſhew his Contempt of Death.* To whom *Eumenes* replyed, *And by* Jupiter *I ſhewed it there: ask the Man elſe that engaged me, but I could never meet a Man that was too hard for me. Therefore* (rejoined *Onomarchus*,) *now you have found ſuch a Man, why don't you ſubmit quietly to his Pleaſure?* When *Antigonus* reſolved to kill *Eumenes*, he commanded to keep his Meat from him, and ſo with two or three Days faſting he began to draw near his End: But the Camp being on a ſudden to remove, an Executioner was ſent to diſpatch him. *Antigonus* granted his Body to his Friends, permitted them to burn it, and having gathered his Aſhes into a Silver Urn, to ſend them to his Wife and Children.

*Eumenes* being thus taken off, the Divinity appointed no other of the Captains or Commanders to revenge the Diſloyalty of them that had betrayed him; but *Antigonus* himſelf abominating the *Argyraſpides* as wicked and inhuman Villains, delivered them up to *Ibyrtius*, Procurator of *Arachoſia*, Commanding him by all ways and means to confound and deſtroy them, ſo that not a Man of them might ever come to *Macedon*, or ſo much as within ſight of the *Greek* Sea.

THE

# THE LIFE OF *Quintus Sertorius.*

Tranſlated from the *Greek*,

By *EDWARD BROWN*, M. D.

## VOLUME III.

IT is no great wonder, if in long proceſs of time, the Wheel of Fortune running variouſly hither and thither through the Univerſe, ſhall happen to fall divers times into the ſame Trace, and the like Occurrences be often produced; and if the Number of Subjects to be wrought upon be infinite, Fortune being ſupplied with matter ſufficiently Copious, may more

# SERTORIUS.



*MBurghers delin. et sculp.*

more eaſily produce this remarkable likeneſs in human Affairs: Or if otherwiſe all things be compoſed and framed out of a finite and limited Number of Events; when theſe have all appeared, the ſame of neceſſity muſt again come to paſs; the Series, and whole courſe of Accidents having already been performed. Now ſome, being delighted with ſuch Caſualties as exactly reſemble one another, make Hiſtorical Collections of thoſe fortuitous Occurrences they have heard, or read of; and obſerving ſome Fatality therein, repreſent them as the Works of a rational Predeterminating Power and Providence. Thus they obſerve that of two eminent Perſons, both whoſe Names were *Attis*, both Nobly Born, and of moſt Illuſtrious Families, the one of *Syria*, the other of *Arcadia*, both of them were ſlain by a wild Boar; that of two Noblemen, both whoſe Names were *Actæon*, the one was torn in pieces by his Dogs, the other by his Lovers; that of two famous *Scipio*'s, the one overthrew the *Carthaginians* in War, the other totally ruined and deſtroyed them; the City of *Troy* was the firſt time taken by *Hercules* for the Horſes promiſed to be given him by *Laomedon*, the ſecond time by *Agamemnon*, by means of the celebrated great wooden Horſe; and the third

third time by *Charidemus*, by occaſion of a Horſe falling down at the Gate, which hindred the *Trojans*, ſo as they could not ſhut them ſoon enough; and of two Cities which take their Names from moſt delightful Odoriferous Plants, *Ios* and *Smyrna*, the one from a Violet, the other from Myrrh, the Poet *Homer* is reported to have been born in the one, and to have dyed in the other. To theſe Remarks, if it may be permitted, we may further obſerve, that the moſt Warlike Commanders, who have performed the greateſt Exploits, and carried on the moſt notable Stratagems by their Courage and Skill in Martial Affairs, have had but one Eye; as *Philip*, *Antigonus*, and *Hannibal*, and *Sertorius* alſo, whoſe Life and Actions we deſcribe at preſent, and who far ſurpaſſed the other in all noble Virtues: For we may give this true Report of him, That he was more Temperate, Sober, and Continent than *Philip*, more Faithful to his Friend than *Antigonus*, and more Merciful and Courteous to his Enemies than *Hannibal*; for Prudence, Wiſdom, and Judgment, he gave place to none of them, but in Fortune was inferior to them all, who though ſhe was every where more ſevere and cruel to him, than to all his Illuſtrious Enemies, yet for Skill and Experience

*Great Commanders who had but one Eye.* Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, Sertorius, *and others.*

perience in War he made himſelf equal to *Metellus*; for bold Attempts, Valour, and Bravery, he might compare with *Pompey*; and in Succeſs, he no ways yielded to *Sylla*; and for Power and Force he made himſelf a Match for the whole *Roman* Empire, and fought Glorioufly againſt the united Arms of *Rome*, when he was a Baniſhed Man, and a Stranger amongſt Barbarous People.

Sertorius *compared with* Eumenes.

Of all the *Grecian* Commanders, *Eumenes* of *Cardia* may be beſt compared with him, for they were both of them great Generals, both Valiant and Politick Commanders, making uſe of Deceit, intricate Deſigns, and cunning Stratagems in War; they were both Aliens and Strangers, Baniſhed from their Countries, and had the Command of Foreign Forces; both had Fortune for their Adverſary, and ſo extravagantly injurious to them in the end, that they were both betrayed, and Villanouſly Murdered by thoſe who ſerved them, and by whom they had formerly overcome their Enemies.

Sertorius *was of a Noble Family.*

*Quintus Sertorius* was of a Noble Family, he was Born in the City of *Nurſia*, in the Country of the *Sabines*; his Father dying when he was young, he was carefully and decently educated by his Mother, whoſe Name was *Rhea*, and whom he extreamly loved,

loved, and honoured; he exerciſed himſelf in Oratory, and pleading in his Youth, which he performed ſo judiciouſly, that he acquired no ſmall Reputation and Power in *Rome* by the Force of his Eloquence; but the Splendor of his Glorious Actions in Arms, and his Succeſsful Atchievements in the Wars, induced him to alter his Ambition, and to ſeek for Honour wholly in Martial Affairs. At his firſt entring the Field, he ſerved under *Scipio*, when the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* invaded *Gaul*; where, the *Romans* fighting unfortunately, and being put to flight, he was wounded in many Parts of his Body, and thrown from his Horſe, yet nevertheleſs he ſwam croſs the River *Rhoſne* in his Armour, with his Breaſt-plate, and Shield, bearing himſelf up againſt one of the ſwifteſt Rivers in the World, and breaking through its furious Waves by clear ſtrength, ſo ſtrong a Body he had, inured to hardſhip, and by long exerciſe brought to endure all Labour.

*Sertorius was a good Orator.*

*He ſwims croſs the* Rhoſne *in his Armour.*

The ſecond time that the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* came down with ſome hundreds of thouſands, threatning Death and Deſtruction to all, when it was no ſmall piece of Service for a *Roman* Soldier to keep his Rank and obey his Commander, *Sertorius* undertook to view the Enemies Camp, and

*He is ſent as a Spy into the Camp of the* Cimbri *and* Teutones *to diſcover their deſigns.*

and to diſcover their utmoſt Forces, and Deſigns, and to this intent having learn'd the manner of their Salutations, and the ordinary Expreſſions of their Language, he threw himſelf in amongſt the *Barbarians*, dreſſed in the Habit of a *Celtick Gaul*, where having carefully ſeen with his own Eyes, or having been fully inform'd by Perſons upon the place, of all their moſt important Concerns, and Affairs of greateſt Moment, he returned to *Marius*, General of the *Roman* Army, from whoſe Hands he received the honourable Rewards of his Valour: And afterwards giving frequent Demonſtrations, both of his Conduct and Courage in all the following War, he was advanced to places of Honour and Truſt under his General, who highly eſteemed and confided in him.

*He is ſent into* Spain *under* Didius *the Prætor.*

After the Wars with the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, he was ſent into *Spain*, having the Command of a thouſand Men under *Didius* the *Roman* General, and wintered in the Country of the *Celtiberians*, in the City of *Caſtulo*, where the Soldiers enjoying great Plenty of all things, grew inſolent, and continually drinking, the Inhabitants deſpiſed them, and ſent for aid by Night to the *Gyriſænians* their near Neighbours, who fell upon the *Romans* in their Lodgings, and ſlew a great Num-

ber of them, but *Sertorius* being alarm'd withdrew out of the City, with a few of his Soldiers, and rallying together the reſt who had ſlipped out, he marched round about the Walls, and finding the Gate open, by which the *Gyriſænians* privately entring, had ſet upon the *Romans*, he gave not them the ſame opportunity, but placing a Guard at the Gate, and ſeizing upon all Quarters of the City, he ſlew thoſe that were of Age to bear Arms; and then ordering his Soldiers to lay aſide their Weapons, and put off their own Cloaths, and put on the Accoutrements of the *Barbarians*, he commanded them to follow him to the City, from whence thoſe were ſent, who fell upon the *Romans* by Night, and deceiving the *Gyriſænians* with the ſight of their own Armour and Equipage, he found the Gates of their City open, and took great Numbers of them Priſoners, who came out thinking to meet their Friends and Fellow-Citizens, coming from performing a worthy piece of Service. Many alſo were ſlain by the *Romans* at their own Gates, and the reſt within yielded up themſelves, and were ſold for Slaves.

*He recovers the City of* Caſtulo.

*He deceives the* Gyriſænians, *and takes their City.*

This Action made *Sertorius* to be highly renowned throughout all *Spain*, and as ſoon as he return'd to *Rome* he was conſtituted Treaſurer General of *Gallia Ciſalpina*

*Salpina* on both ſides of the River *Po*, very advantageouſly for the *Roman* Affairs at that time, for the War with the *Marſi* being unanimouſly reſolved upon, *Sertorius* was ordered to raiſe Soldiers and provide Arms, which he performed with ſuch Diligence, Speed, and Alacrity, contrary to the languiſhing feebleneſs and ſlothfulneſs of his Companions, that he got the repute of a Man of Life and Spirit in buſineſs; nor did he any ways deſiſt from his Military Boldneſs and Bravery, when he arriv'd at the Dignity of a great Commander, but performed Wonders with his own Hands, and never ſparing himſelf, but expoſing his Body freely in all Conflicts, he loſt one of his Eyes, which was cut out of his Head, and yet continued to have a chearful Look, and always eſteem'd it an Honour to him: For others do not continually carry about with them the Marks and Teſtimonies of their Valour, but often lay aſide their Chains of Gold, their Spears, and Crowns; whereas his Enſigns of Honour, and the Manifeſtations of his noble Courage always remained with him, and thoſe who beheld his Scars, and Misfortunes, admired at the ſame time his undaunted Proweſs, and Magnanimity; the People alſo paid him due Reſpect, and honoured him ſutably to his Merit; and when he came into the

*He is made Queſtor of Gallia Ciſalpina, now call'd Lombordy.*

Sertorius *highly applauded by the People.*

Theater, they applauded him, and received him with clapping their Hands, beating their Feet againſt the Seats, and with joyful Acclamations, which ſort of Applauſe was not eaſily obtained, even by Perſons who were more venerable in reſpect of their Age, and of greater Dignity in the Common-Wealth.

Notwithſtanding this Popularity, when he ſtood to be Tribune of the People, he was diſappointed, and loſt the Place, being oppoſed by a Party ſtirr'd up by *Sylla*, which ſeems to be the principal Cauſe of their inveterate irreconcileable Hatred.

After that *Marius* was overcome by *Sylla*, and fled into *Africa*, and that *Sylla* had left *Italy* to go to the Wars againſt *Mithridates*, that of the two Conſuls, *Octavius* and *Cinna*, *Octavius* remained ſtedfaſt to the Deſigns of *Sylla*, but *Cinna* (affecting Innovations) attempted to recall the loſt Intereſt of *Marius*, and to ſet up a Party again that was declin'd and trodden under foot; *Sertorius* adher'd to *Cinna*, perceiving that *Octavius* was ſomewhat heavy, could not diſtinguiſh of the worth of a Man, and was alſo ſuſpicious of any one that was a Friend to *Marius*.

*A Battel fought in the* Forum *at* Rome.

When the Battel was fought between the two Conſuls in the Market-Place, *Octavius* overcame, and *Cinna* and *Sertorius* having loſt not leſs than ten thouſand Men,

Men, left the City, and perſwading the Soldiers who were diſperſed about, and gaining thoſe who remain'd ſtill in many parts of *Italy*, they united their Forces, and in a ſhort time muſtered up a Party againſt *Octavius*, ſufficient to give him Battel again, and *Marius* coming by Sea out of *Africa*, proffered himſelf to ſerve under *Cinna*, as a private Soldier under his Conſul and Commander.

Moſt were for the ſpeedy Reception of *Marius*, but *Sertorius* openly declared againſt it, and whether he thought that *Cinna* did not herein conſult his own Intereſt, and that his Greatneſs would be diminiſhed by the Preſence of a Perſon of greater Splendor and Authority, or whether he feared that the Violence of *Marius* would bring all things to Confuſion, and that by his boundleſs Wrath and Vengeance after Victory, he would go beyond all the Rules and Limits of Juſtice, he inſiſted upon it with *Cinna*, alledging that they were already Victorious, that there remained little to be done, and that if they admitted *Marius*, he would not only deprive them of the Glory and Advantage of the War, but would alſo prove a very uneaſie and unfaithful Sharer in the Government. To which *Cinna* anſwer'd, That he had rightly computed theſe Affairs, but that he himſelf

ſelf was at a loſs, and aſham'd, and knew not how to reject him, whom he ſent for to be Partner in all his Concerns: To which *Sertorius* reply'd, That he thought *Marius* came into *Italy* of his own accord, and therefore he deliberated what might be moſt expedient, but that it was not fair for *Cinna* to conſult whether he ſhould accept of him whom he had already vouchſafed to invite, but ſhould honourably receive and employ him, for his word once paſt, left no room for debate, and his Promiſe being ſacred, ought never to be diſputed.

*The Army commanded by* Cinna, Marius, *and* Sertorius.

*Marius* being ſent for by *Cinna*, and their Forces being divided into three parts, under *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Sertorius*, the War was carried on ſucceſsfully; but thoſe about *Cinna* and *Marius* committing all manner of Inſolence, Severity, and Rapine, made it evident to the *Romans*, that the Original and chief Inducement to theſe Wars, was Booty and Plunder; but on the contrary it is reported of *Sertorius*, that he never ſlew Man in his Anger, to ſatisfie his own private Revenge, nor never inſulted over any one whom he had overcome, but was much offended with the Inhuman Rigour of *Marius*, and would often converſe privately with *Cinna*, and entreat him to mitigate his Fury, and to uſe his Power more moderately; in the end, when

when the Slaves whom *Marius* had freed at his landing, to increaſe his Army, being made not only his Fellow-Soldiers in the War, but alſo his Guard, and the Executioners of his Tyrannical Cruelty, became ſtrong and numerous; and either by the Command, or Permiſſion of *Marius*, had, contrary to all Law, forcibly oppreſſed their Maſters, ſlain their Lords, raviſhed their Ladies, and forced and abuſed their Children; their Crimes appear'd ſo intolerable to *Sertorius*, that he ſlew no leſs than four thouſand of them upon the place; commanding his Soldiers to ſtrike their Darts thro' the Bodies of them all as they lay encamp'd together.

*Sertorius puniſhes the inſolency of the Slaves.*

Afterwards when *Marius* was dead, and *Cinna* was ſlain, when the younger *Marius* had uſurp'd the Supream Authority, and made himſelf Conſul againſt the Mind of *Sertorius*, and the known Laws of *Rome*: When *Carbo*, *Norbanus*, and *Scipio* had fought unſucceſsfully, and made but ſmall reſiſtance againſt the fortunate Arms of *Sylla*, returning victoriouſly from the Wars with *Mithridates* and *Fimbria*. When much was loſt by the ſoftneſs and effeminate remiſsneſs of the Commanders, but more deſtroyed by the treachery of their own Party; when their Affairs were ſo miſerably ſhattered, and born down,

that they were not able to be ſupported even by the Preſence of *Sertorius*, and that he was able to do little by reaſon that thoſe who had the greateſt Command, and Authority, were Perſons of no great Prudence or Conduct; in the end when *Sylla* had placed his Camp near to *Scipio*, and by pretending Friendſhip, and putting him in hopes of a good Peace, had corrupted his Army; and *Scipio* could not be made ſenſible thereof, although often foretold, and forewarned of it by *Sertorius*; he utterly deſpair'd of the Proſperity of *Rome*, and made haſte into *Spain*; that by taking Poſſeſſion thereof beforehand, he might eſtabliſh his Power in a Country, which would be a Refuge to his Friends, and a Support to his declining Party. But having bad Weather in his Journey, and travelling through Mountainous Countries, and the Inhabitants ſtopping the Way, and demanding a Toll, and Mony for Paſſage, thoſe who were with him were out of all Patience; and highly aggravating in their Diſcourſes the Indignity and Shame it would be for a Proconſul of *Rome* to pay Tribute to a Crew of wretched *Barbarians*; he little regarded their Cenſure; but ſlighting that which had only the appearance of an Undecency, told them he muſt buy Time, the moſt pre-

*He leaves Italy and haſtens into Spain.*

cious

cious of all things, to thoſe who go upon great Enterprizes; and pacifying the barbarous People with Mony, he haſtned his Journey, and took poſſeſſion of *Spain*, a Country flouriſhing and populous, abounding with luſty young Men fit to bear Arms; but by reaſon of the Inſolency and Covetouſneſs of the Commanders, ſent thither yearly from *Rome*, they had generally an Averſion to the *Roman* Diſcipline; and were very ill prepared to receive any ſort of Government. But he ſoon gained the Affection of the Nobility, by his Civilities and free Converſation amongſt them, and got the good Opinion of the People by remitting their Taxes. But that which made him generally beloved, and wan the Hearts of all, was his exempting them from finding Lodgings for the Soldiers, when he Commanded his Army to take up their Winter Quarters without the Cities, and to pitch their Tents in the Fields; and when he himſelf firſt of all, cauſed his own Pavilion to be raiſed without the Walls; yet not being willing to rely totally upon the good Inclination of the Inhabitants, he armed all the *Romans* who lived in thoſe Countries that were of Age, and undertook the Building of Ships, and the making of all ſorts of Warlike Engins, by which means he kept the Cities in due Obedience, being affable and

and courteous in the time of Peace, and appearing formidable to his Enemies by reaſon of his great Preparations for War.

As ſoon as he was informed that *Sylla* had made himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, and that the Party which ſided with *Marius* and *Carbo* was utterly deſtroyed, he expected that ſome great Commander with a conſiderable Army would ſpeedily come againſt him, and therefore ſent away *Julius Salinator* immediately with ſix thouſand Men well Armed, to Guard the Mountains, and to fortifie and defend the narrow Paſſages of the *Pyrenæans*; and *Caius Annius* not long after being ſent out by *Sylla*, finding that *Julius Salinator* could not be approached unto, and that his Camp was impregnable by reaſon of its Situation, nor to be forced by any Aſſault, he ſat down ſhort at the Foot of the Mountains in great Perplexity; but *Calpurnius Lanarius* having treacherouſly ſlain *Julius Salinator*, and his Forces aſtoniſhed at this accident forſaking the Tops of the *Pyrenæans*, *Caius Annius* came forward with a great Army, and paſſed over the Mountains, and forced thoſe from their Stations who endeavoured to hinder his March; *Sertorius* alſo not being ſtrong enough to give him Battel, retreated with three thouſand Men into new *Carthage*, where he took Shipping, and

*He ſends* Julius Salinator *to Guard the narrow Paſſages of the* Pyrenæan *Mountains.*

Carta-gena.

and croſſed the Seas into *Africa*, and coming near to the Coaſt of *Mauritania*, his Men went on Shoar to Water; and ſtragling about negligently, the *Africans* fell upon them, and ſlew a great Number. This new Misfortune forced him to Sail back again into *Spain*, from whence he was alſo repulſed, but the *Cilician* Pyrats joining with him, they made for the Iſland of *Pityuſa*, where they landed and overpowred the Garriſon placed therein by *Caius Annius*, who alſo came thither not long after with a great Fleet of Ships, and five thouſand Soldiers, and *Sertorius* made ready to fight him by Sea, although his Ships were not built for ſtrength, but for lightneſs and ſwift Sailing; but a violent Weſt Wind raiſed ſuch a Storm at Sea, that many of *Sertorius*'s Ships were run on Ground, and Shipwracked all along the rocky Shoars, and he himſelf with a few Veſſels, being kept from putting further out to Sea, by the Storms and Fury of the Weather, and hindred from landing by the Power of his Enemies, was toſſed about for ten Days together, and the Seas running high, and the Waves being boiſterous and violent, he eſcaped with great Difficulty, and after the Wind ceaſed ran into certain deſolate Iſlands ſcattered about in thoſe Seas affording no Water; from whence making out to Sea again, he

Pityuſa, Ebuſus, *now* Yvica.

paſſed

passed the Straights of *Cadiz*; between the Pillars of *Hercules*, and Sailing outward, keeping the *Spanish* Shoar on his right Hand, he landed a little above the Mouth of the River * *Bætis* where it falls into the *Atlantick* Sea, and gives the Name to all that part of *Spain*. Here he met with Seamen, newly arrived from two Islands in the *Atlantick*, which are divided from one another, only by a narrow Channel, and are distant from the Coast of *Africa* ten thousand Furlongs: These are called the Fortunate Islands, where the Rain falls seldom, and then in moderate Showers, but for the most part they have gentle Breezes, bringing along with them soft Dews, which renders the Soil not only fat and fit to be Ploughed, and Planted; but so abundantly fruitful, that it produces of its own accord Plants and Fruits for plenty and delicacy, sufficient to feed and delight the Inhabitants, who may here enjoy all things without Trouble or Labour. The Seasons of the Year are temperate, and the Alteration from Quarter to Quarter so moderate, that the Air for the most part is Serene and Refreshing, and the Weather generally Fair and Pleasant. The rough Northerly and Eastern Winds, which blow towards these Islands from the Coasts of *Europe*, and *Africa*, are divided and dissipated, by reason of the

*Bætis or Guadilquiver.

*Called from thence* Hispania Bætica.

*The fortunate Islands.*

the vaſt Diſtance, and utterly loſe their Force long before they reach theſe Parts. The ſoft Weſtern, and Southerly Winds which breath upon them, do ſometimes produce gentle ſprinkling Showers, but for the moſt part they calmly impregnate the Earth, only with the fruitful Dews, and the nouriſhing Moiſture of the Air, which they bring along with them from the Sea; ſo that it is firmly believed, even by the barbarous People themſelves, that this is the Seat of the Bleſſed, and that theſe are the *Elyſian* Fields highly celebrated by *Homer*.

*Sertorius deſirous to live in the fortunate Iſlands.*

As ſoon as *Sertorius* heard this Account, he was ſeized with a wonderful Affection for theſe Iſlands, and had an extream Deſire to live there in Peace and Quietneſs, far from the Noiſe of Wars, and free from the Troubles of Government; but his Inclinations being perceived by the *Cilician* Pyrates, who deſire neither Peace nor Quiet, but rove after Riches and Spoils, they immediately forſook him, and ſailed away into *Africa*, to aſſiſt *Aſcalis* the Son of *Iphtha*, and to help to re-eſtabliſh him in the Throne of his Father, and to reſtore him to his Kingdom of *Mauritania*.

The ſudden departure of the *Cilicians* did no ways diſcourage *Sertorius*, or cauſe him to deſiſt from further Attempts; for he

he presently resolved to assist the Enemies of *Ascalis*, and by this new Adventure kept his Soldiers together, who from hence conceived new Hopes of their future Prosperity, and began to have better prospect of their Affairs. His arrival in *Mauritania* being very acceptable to the *Moors*, he lost no time, but immediately giving Battel to *Ascalis*, beat him out of the Field, and besieged him; and *Pacciacus* being sent by *Sylla* with a powerful Supply to raise the Siege, *Sertorius* slew him in the Field, and overthrew all his Forces, with this great Advantage, that he not only took the whole *Roman* Army Prisoners, but also forced the City of *Tingis*, where *Ascalis* and his Brothers were fled for Refuge. The *Africans* report that *Antæus* was buried in this City, a Giant of a wonderful Stature, but *Sertorius* being unwilling to trust common Fame, which gave out that his Body was of a most prodigious Length, he caused his Sepulchre to be opened, and finding that his Corps was effectually full threescore Cubits long, he was infinitely astonished, and immediately offered up Sacrifice to the Gods, and closed up the Tomb again, whereby he confirmed the Report of the Inhabitants, increased the Fame of the Sepulchre, and added new Honours to the Memory of *Antæus*. The *Africans* further

*He takes the City of* Tingis *now* Tangier.

*He causeth the Tomb of* Antæus *to be opened.*

ther alledge that after the Death of *Antæus* his Wife *Tinga* lived with *Hercules*, and had a Son by him called *Sophax*, who was King of theſe Countries, and gave his Mother's Name to this City, whoſe Son alſo was *Diodorus* a great Conqueror, who ſubdued many other Regions, and brought the greateſt part of *Africa* under his Subjection, with an Army of *Greeks*, which he raiſed out of the Colonies of the *Olbianians* and *Myceneans* placed here by *Hercules*. I mention theſe Paſſages for the ſake of King *Juba*, the moſt excellent Hiſtorian of any Prince that ever yet hath honoured Hiſtory with his own Pen, and who numbers for his Progenitors a long Race of *Mauritanian* Kings, who derive their Genealogies from *Diodorus* and *Sophax*, and are lineally deſcended from *Hercules*.

When *Sertorius* had made himſelf abſolute Maſter of the whole Country, he was very juſt to thoſe who had confided in him, and ſhew'd not the leaſt Unkindneſs to others, who yielded to his Mercy, but reſtored to them their Eſtates, their Cities, their Laws and Privileges, accepting only of ſuch Acknowledgements as they themſelves freely offered. And whilſt he conſidered which way next to turn his Arms, the *Luſitanians* ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire him to be their General; for being

*The Luſitanians ſend Ambaſſadors to him.*

being terrified with the *Roman* Power, and finding the Neceſſity of having a Commander of great Authority and Experience in War, being alſo ſufficiently informed of his Worth and Valour, by thoſe who had formerly ſerved him, they were extreamly deſirous to commit themſelves and their Fortunes wholly to his Care, and humbly beſeeched him to accept of the Command. And to give a true Character of *Sertorius*, he was of a Temper not to be ſurprized with Fear, nor eaſie to be Captivated with Pleaſure, in Adverſity and Dangers undaunted, and no ways puffed up with Proſperity, but of an even Mind, Courteous and Obliging. Upon a ſudden Aſſault or dangerous Attempt, no Commander in his time was more bold and daring, for whatever was to be performed in War by Deceit, Circumvention, or Surprize; or if any ſtrong Place was to be taken in, any Paſs to be gained ſpeedily, any ſudden Invaſion or Inroad to be made, he was a moſt notable Contriver, and Politick Advancer of all ſuch intricate and difficult Deſigns, in beſtowing Rewards, and conferring Honours upon thoſe who had performed good Service in the Wars. He was Bountiful and Magnificent even to Prodigality, but very ſparing and backward in puniſhing Crimes, and Mild and Merciful to Offenders; yet

that

that Piece of Harſhneſs and Cruelty, which he executed in the latter part of his Days, upon the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages, ſeems to argue, that his Clemency was not Natural, but only acted and handſomely diſſembled, as his Occaſions or Neceſſity required; and as to my own Opinion, I am perſwaded that ſincere Virtue eſtabliſhed by Reaſon and Mature Judgment, can never be totally Perverted or Extirpated by any Misfortune whatever. Not that I think it impoſſible, but that great Indignities offered without cauſe, and frequent Abuſes put upon thoſe of the beſt Nature, and moſt virtuous Inclinations, may make ſome Impreſſion and Alteration in their Temper; and thus I ſuppoſe it happened to *Sertorius*, who being exaſperated by the repeated Injuries of ungrateful Perſons, he was at laſt ſevere to thoſe who had unworthily injured him.

The *Luſitanians* having ſent for *Sertorius*, he left *Africa*, and being made General with abſolute Power and Authority, he ordered all things for the beſt Advantage, and brought the Neighbouring Parts of *Spain* under his Subjection; many Countries alſo voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves, won by the Fame of his Clemency, and of his Martial Performances. Upon ſome Occaſions alſo he would not fail to invent ſtrange Artifices to pleaſe the

People, and to make uſe of alluring Devices, and even of deluding Impoſtures, amongſt which certainly that of the Hind was none of the leaſt. *Spanus* a Country-Man who lived in thoſe Parts meeting by chance a Hind that had newly Calved, flying from the Hunters, he let the Dam go, and purſuing the Hind-calf, took it, being wonderfully pleaſed with the Rarity of it, and the ſtrangeneſs of the Colour which was milk white, and at the ſame time *Sertorius* keeping his Court in thoſe Parts, and receiving courteouſly ſuch Preſents of Fruit, Fowl, or Veniſon as the Country afforded, and rewarding liberally thoſe who preſented them, the Country-man brought him his young Hind, which he kindly accepted, and was much taken with it at the firſt ſight, but when in time he had made it ſo tame and gentle, that it would come when he called, and follow him whereſoever he went, and could endure the Noiſe and Tumult of the Camp; knowing well that Barbarous People are naturally prone to Superſtition, by Degrees he gave out that it was inſpired with a Deity, that it was given him by the Goddeſs *Diana*, that it diſcovered to him hidden Myſteries, and revealed to him what was to come to paſs hereafter: To which alſo he added theſe further Contrivances; if he had received at any time private

Sertorius's *Hind.*

private Intelligence, that the Enemies had made an Incurſion into thoſe Provinces which were under his Command, or had ſollicited any City to revolt, he pretended that the Hind had informed him of it in his Sleep, and charged him to keep his Forces in readineſs; or if otherwiſe he had notice that any of the Commanders under him had got a Victory, he would hide the Meſſengers, and bring forth the Hind crowned with flowers, for joy of the good News that was to come, and would encourage them to Rejoyce and Sacrifice to the Gods for the good account they ſhould ſoon receive of their Proſperous Succeſs, and by thoſe Inventions filling their Heads with ſtrange Imaginations, and the thoughts of Miracles, he brought them to be more Tractable and Obedient in all things; for now they thought themſelves no longer to be led by a Stranger, but rather conducted by a *Hero*, or one nearly related to a God. Conſidering alſo that his Power daily encreaſed, contrary to all Human Reaſon or Probability. For with two thouſand five hundred, which for Honour's ſake he called *Romans*, joyned with ſeven hundred *Africans*, who landed with him when he firſt entred *Luſitania*, together with four thouſand Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe, he made War with four

*Roman* Generals, who commanded a hundred and twenty thouſand Foot, ſix thouſand Horſe, two thouſand Archers, and Slingers, and Cities innumerable, whereas at the firſt he had not above twenty Cities in all; and from this weak and ſlender beginning, he became afterwards ſo conſiderable that he took many good Cities, and overcame Great and Powerful Countries. Of the *Roman* Commanders which were ſent againſt him, he overthrew *Cotta* in a Sea-fight, in the Channel near the City of *Mellaria*; he routed *Phidius* chief Commander of *Hiſpania Bætica*, and ſlew two thouſand *Romans* near the Banks of the River *Bætis*. *Domitius* and *Lucius Manlius* Proconſul of another Province of *Spain*, were overthrown in a ſet Battel by one of his Lieutenants; he ſlew *Toranius* a Commander ſent againſt him by *Metellus* with a great Force, and deſtroyed his whole Army; and *Metellus* the greateſt General in thoſe Times, and a Perſon of the moſt approved Experience of any *Roman* then living, was often ſupplanted and circumvented by him, and reduced to ſuch Extremities that he was forced to call *Lucius Lollius* to his aſſiſtance out of *Gallia Narbonenſis*; and *Rome* it ſelf being alarmed

Mellaria *now* Tariffa, *between* Trafalgar *and* Gibralter, *in the Streights mouth.* Cape Spartel, *and* Trafalgar, Abyla, *and* Gibralter, *are places well known to Seamen that Sail into the* Mediterranean *Sea.*

ed and terrified, parted with her beloved *Pompey* the Great, and ſent him into *Spain* in all haſte with the moſt conſiderable Forces of the *Roman* Empire. Nor did *Metellus* know which way to turn himſelf, having to do with a Man of undaunted Boldneſs and Sagacity, who was continually moleſting him, and yet could not be brought to a ſet Battel, but by the ſwiftneſs and dexterity of his *Spaniſh* Soldiery he was able to change his Station, and to caſt his Army into all Forms and Figures, to lead them on, and bring them off again, and wind himſelf out of all Streights and Difficulties; and although *Metellus* had great Experience in conducting entire well appointed Legions, and was an excellent Commander of Soldiers armed with heavy Armour, and drawn up in due order into a ſtanding Phalanx able to encounter the Enemy hand to hand, and overpower them by clear Force, yet he was no ways able to climb up ſteep Hills, and be continually upon the purſuit of a ſwift Enemy, or attend the ſpeedy Marches of Men that were accuſtomed to range about the Mountains, to endure Hunger and Thirſt, and to live expoſed to the Wind and Weather without Fire or Covering: Beſides, that *Metellus* being now in Years, and having been formerly engaged in many Fights and dangerous Conflicts, he was

Pompey *ſent againſt* Sertorius.

now inclinable to lead a more remiſs, eaſie, and voluptuous Life, and was the leſs able to contend with *Sertorius* who was in the Flower and Strength of his Youth, full of Spirit and Life, and had a Body wonderfully fitted for War, being ſtrong, active, and temperate, continually accuſtomed to endure hard Labour, to take long tedious Journeys, to paſs many Nights together without ſleep, to eat little, and to be ſatisfied with very courſe Fare, and was never ſtained with the leaſt Exceſs in Wine, even when he was moſt at leiſure, but what time he had to ſpare, he ſpent in hunting, and riding into all Parts; whereby he underſtood the Courſe of the Country, the Situation of all Places, and where there were Paſſages, and where not; with this advantage to himſelf, that when he could not maintain the Fight, he knew which way to fly and eſcape, and where certainly to enſnare and encompaſs his Enemy, when Victory accompanied his Arms; inſomuch that thoſe with *Metellus* ſuffered all inconveniencies like Men that were conquered, although he earneſtly deſired to fight, and *Sertorius*, (though he refuſed the Field) reaped all the advantages of a Conqueror; for he hindered them from Foraging, and cut off all Proviſion; if they proceeded forward, he ſtopped their March, if they ſtayed in any place and encamped, he continually

tinually moleſted and alarmed them; if they beſieged any Town, he preſently appeared and beſieged them again, and reduced them to great Extremities for want of Neceſſaries, whereby he wearied out the *Roman* Army, and reduced them to ſo low and deſpairing a Condition, that when *Sertorius* challenged *Metellus* to fight ſingly with him, they commended him, and cryed out, it was a fair Offer for a *Roman* to fight againſt a *Roman*, and a General againſt a General; and when *Metellus* refuſed the Challenge, they reproached him, but *Metellus* derided and contemned them, in doing which he did well; for as *Theophraſtus* obſerves, a General ſhould dye like a General, and not like a Gladiator.

Sertorius *challenges* Metellus.

*Metellus* perceiving that the City of the *Lagobrites*, which gave great Aſſiſtance to *Sertorius*, might eaſily be taken for want of Water, (there being but one Well within the Walls) and that whoſoever beſieged the Place would make himſelf Maſter of the Springs and Fountains in the Suburbs, he hoped to force the Town in two Days time, there being no more Water, and gave command to his Soldiers to take five Days Proviſion only; but *Sertorius* reſolving to ſend ſpeedy Relief, ordered two thouſand Veſſels to be filled with Water, and a good Reward for the Carriage of every Veſſel, and many *Spaniards* and *Moors* under-

Sertorius *relieves the City of the* Lagobrites.

taking the Work, he choſe out thoſe who were the ſtrongeſt and ſwifteſt of Foot, and ſent them through the Mountains, with order that when they had delivered the Water they ſhould remove and convey away privately all thoſe who would be leaſt ſerviceable in the Siege, that there might be Water ſufficient for the Defendants. As ſoon as *Metellus* underſtood this, he was highly diſturbed, and when he had ſpent moſt part of the neceſſary Proviſions for his Army, he ſent out *Aquinus* with ſix thouſand Soldiers to fetch in freſh Supplies: But *Sertorius* having notice of it, laid an Ambuſh for him, and having ſent out before-hand three thouſand Men, which he placed within a ſhady Valley, in a Channel which had been made hollow by the rapid fall of Water from the Hills, they ſet upon the Rear of *Aquinus* in his Return, while *Sertorius* charging him in the Front, deſtroyed part of his Army, and took the reſt Priſoners, *Aquinus* only eſcaping, after he had been thrown from his Horſe, and loſt his Armour; and *Metellus* being forced ſhamefully to raiſe the Siege, became the Laughter and Contempt of the *Spaniards*, and *Sertorius* the Object of their Eſteem, Love and Admiration. He was alſo highly honoured for his inſtituting a right Diſcipline, and good Order amongſt them; for he altered their furious ſavage manner

of

of fighting, and brought them to make uſe of the *Roman* Armour, taught them to keep their Ranks, and follow their Enſigns, and out of a confuſed number of Thieves and Robbers, he conſtituted a regular well diſciplined Army: He afterwards beſtowed Silver and Gold upon them liberally to gild and adorn their Helmets, he cauſed their Shields to be wrought, and engraved with various Figures and Deſigns, he brought them into the mode of wearing flowered and richly embroidered Cloaths, and by courting them, by paying their Expences, by converſing familiarly with them, he wan the Hearts of all, and led them whither he pleaſed; but that which delighted them moſt, was the care that he took of their Children, when he ſent for all the Noblemens Sons in thoſe Parts, and placed them in the great City of *Oſca*, where he appointed Maſters to inſtruct them in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Learning, that when they came to be Men, they might be fitted to ſhare with him in Authority, and in the Government of the Commonwealth; although under this pretence of their better Education, he really made them Hoſtages and Sureties for their Country; however their Fathers were wonderfully pleaſed to ſee their Children going daily to the Schools in good Order, handſomely dreſſed in fine long Garments

Oſca Huesca.

Garments edged with Purple, and that *Sertorius* paid a Salary for their Learning; examined them often, distributed Rewards to the most deserving, and gave them Jewels to hang about their Necks, and golden Bosses which the *Romans* called *Bullæ*.

Sertorius *infinitely beloved by the* Spaniard.

There being a Custom in *Spain*, that when a great Commander was slain in Battel, those who attended his Person fought it out 'till they all died with him, which the Inhabitants of those Countries called an Offering, or a pouring out of Blood in Sacrifice. There were few Commanders that had any considerable Guard or number of Attendants; but *Sertorius* had many thousands who offered up themselves, and vowed to sacrifice their Lives, and spend their Bloods with his, and it is reported that when his Army was defeated near to a City in *Spain*, and the Enemy pressed hard upon them, the *Spaniards* took no care for themselves, but being totally sollicitous to save *Sertorius*, they took him up on their Shoulders, and passed him from one to another, 'till they carried him into the City, and when they had thus placed their General in Safety, every one provided afterwards for his own Security.

*The* Roman *Soldiers with* Perpenna *desire to be under his Command.*

Nor were the *Spaniards* alone ambitious to serve him, but the *Roman* Soldiers also that came out of *Italy* were impatient to be under his Command; and when *Perpenna*

*penna*, who was of the ſame Faction with *Sertorius*, came into *Spain* with great Riches, and a good Army, and deſigned to make War againſt *Metellus* in a diſtinct Body by himſelf, his own Soldiers oppoſed it, and diſcourſed continually of the great Fame and Merit of *Sertorius*; which was no ſmall Mortification to *Perpenna*, who was puffed up with the Grandeur of his Family, and his Riches. When they afterwards underſtood alſo that *Pompey* the Great had paſſed the *Pyræneans*, they took up their Arms, laid hold on their Enſigns, called upon *Perpenna* to lead them to *Sertorius*, and threatned him that if he refuſed it, they would go and place themſelves under a Commander who was ſufficiently able to defend himſelf and thoſe that ſerved him, which forced *Perpenna* to yield to their Deſires, who immediately joining with *Sertorius* added to his Army three and fifty Cohorts; and when all the Cities on this ſide of the River *Iberus* alſo united their Forces together under his Command, his Army grew great, for they flocked together, and flowed in upon him from all Quarters; but when they continually cried out to charge the Enemy, and were impatient of delay, their unexperienced Raſhneſs was troubleſome to *Sertorius*, who at firſt ſtrove to reſtrain them with Reaſon and good Counſel, but when he perceived them

Perpenna *joins his Forces with* Sertorius.

them refractory and unſeaſonably violent, he gave way to their impetuous Deſires, and permitted them to engage with the Enemy, in ſuch ſort that being repulſed, yet not totally routed, he hoped they would become more obedient to his Commands for the future; which happ'ning as he conjectured, he ſoon reſcued them, and brought them ſafe into his Camp; and after a few days being willing to encourage them again, when he had called all his Army together, he cauſed two Horſes to be brought into the Field, one, an old, feeble, lean Jade, the other, a luſty ſtrong Horſe, with a very fair thick long Tail; near to the lean Jade he placed a tall ſtrong Man, and near to the ſtrong young Horſe a weak little deſpicable Fellow to look upon, and at a Sign given, the ſtrong Man took hold of the weak Horſe's Tail with both his hands, and drew it to him with his whole force, as if he would preſently pull it off; the other little weak Fellow in the mean time fell to plucking off hair by hair from the great Horſe's Tail; and when the ſtrong Man had given trouble enough to himſelf in vain, and ſufficient divertiſement to the Company, and had given over his intent, whilſt the weak pitiful Wretch in a ſhort time and with little pains had left never a hair on the great Horſe's Tail; *Sertorius* roſe up, and ſpake to his Army after this manner.

manner. 'You ſee, fellow-Soldiers, that In-
'genuity is greater than Force, and Perſeve-
'rance more prevailing than Violence.
'Many things which cannot be overcome
'when they are together, do yield them-
'ſelves up by degrees when they are ſepa-
'ted. Aſſiduity and continued Diligence
'is reſiſtleſs, and in time overthrows and
'deſtroys the greateſt Powers whatever;
'Time being the favourable Friend and
'Aſſiſtant of thoſe, who through mature
'Judgment underſtand aright how to take
'their beſt Advantages, and the deſtructive
'Enemy of thoſe who are unſeaſonably
'urging and preſſing forward. With ſuch like Inventions and Diſcourſes, wherewith he frequently entertained them, he brideled the raſh fierceneſs of the Barbarous People, and taught them to attend and to watch for their beſt Opportunities of Fighting.

*His Stratagem againſt the Characitanians.*

But of all his remarkable Exploits, and wonderful Stratagems in War, none raiſed greater Admiration in all, than that which he put in Practice againſt the *Characitanians*; theſe are a People beyond the River *Tagus*, who inhabit neither Cities nor Towns, but live in a vaſt high Hill, within the deep Dens and Caves of the Rocks, the Mouths of which open all towards the North, the Country below it is a clayiſh, chalky Soil, and being alſo light, full of

of Pores, and Spungy, it is apt to be crummed and broken into Powder, and is not firm enough to bear any one that treads upon it, and if you touch it in the leaſt it flyes about like Aſhes, or unſlaked Lime. In any danger of War, theſe People deſcend into their Caves, and carrying in their Booty and Prey along with them, are free from all fear, and think themſelves Invincible. And when *Sertorius* being at ſome diſtance from *Metellus* had placed his Camp near this Hill, they ſlighted and deſpiſed him, imagining that he retired into theſe Parts being overthrown by the *Romans*; and whether out of Anger, and juſt Reſentment, or out of unwillingneſs, to be thought to fly from his Enemies, he cauſed himſelf to be carried thither early in the Morning to view the ſituation of the Place; but finding there was no way to come at it, as he rode about threatning them in vain, and troubled in his Mind, he took notice that the Wind raiſed the Duſt and carried it up towards the Caves of the *Characitanians*, the Mouths of which, as we ſaid before, opened towards the North; and the Northerly Winds, which ſome call *Cæcias*, prevailing moſt in thoſe Parts, engendred out of the moiſt Moriſh Plains, or the Mountains covered with Snow, and in the heat of Summer being ſupplyed and encreaſed,

*Cæcias is the North-East Wind, or the North East and by East.*

encreaſed, by the Relaxation and Melting of the Ice on the Peaks of the Northern Hills, it blows a delightful freſh Gale, which recreates the *Characitanians*, and refreſhes their Cattle all the Day long. *Sertorius* conſidering well all Circumſtances, wherein either the Information of the Inhabitants, or his own Experience had inſtructed him, commanded his Soldiers to ſhovel up a great quantity of this light duſty Earth, to heap it up together, and make a Mount of it, over againſt the Hill wherein theſe Barbarous People reſided, who imagining that all this Preparation was for the raiſing of a Fort, or for the making of a Bulwark againſt them, they looked upon it as a Deſign moſt worthy to be laughed at; however he continued the Work 'till the Evening and brought his Soldiers back into their Camp. The next Morning when a gentle breeze aroſe, and moved the lighteſt Parts of the Earth, and diſperſed it about as the Chaff before the Wind, and when the Sun coming to be higher, the bluſtering Northerly Wind had covered the Hills with the Duſt, the Soldiers turned this new Mount of Earth over and over, and brake the Clots of Clay in Pieces, whilſt others on Horſe-back rode through it backward and forward, and raiſed a Cloud of duſt, which being committed

mitted to the Wind, was blown into the Dwellings of the *Characitanians*, the entrances into which were all towards the North; and there being no other Vent or Paſſage, than that through which bluſtering *Cæcias* ruſhed in upon them, together with all the powdered Earth and Duſt, toſſed and blown about, it quickly blinded their Eyes, and filled their Lungs, and cauſing a difficulty of breathing choaked them up, whilſt they ſtrove to draw in the rough harſh Air mingled with ſtreams of duſt, nor were they able with great hardſhip to hold out above two days, but yielded up themſelves on the third. This Succeſs added not ſo much to the Strength and Power of *Sertorius*, as it encreaſed his Glory and Renown, in letting the World ſee that he was able to conquer thoſe places by Art, and by the Strength of his Brain, which were impregnable and never to be taken by the Force of Arms. He was continually Succeſsful during the whole War againſt *Metellus*, who by reaſon of his Age and his ſlow Temper, was not able to reſiſt the active Boldneſs and Bravery of *Sertorius*, who commanded a light Army, more like a Band of Robbers than a due eſtabliſhed Militia. When *Pompey* alſo had paſſed over the *Pyrenæans*, and placed his Camp near him, where both of them gave their utmoſt

utmoſt Proofs of their Gallantry and Skill in War, both in receiving and attacking one another, *Sertorius* far ſurpaſſing him, either in defending himſelf, or countermining the Deſigns of his Enemies, his Fame was then highly Celebrated even in *Rome* it ſelf, for the moſt terrible Warriour, and the moſt expert Commander of his Time. For conſidering that the Renown of *Pompey* was not ſmall, who had already won much Honour by his Proweſs and Magnanimity in the Wars of *Sylla*, from whom he received the Title of *Magnus*, and was called *Pompey* the Great; and who had aſcended to the Honour of a Triumph before the Hairs were grown on his Face, many Cities which were under *Sertorius* had an earneſt Deſire to revolt, when they were deterred from it by that great Action amongſt others which he performed near the City of *Lauron*, contrary to the expectation of all.

*The Siege of Lauron.*

As ſoon as *Sertorius* had laid Siege to *Lauron*, *Pompey* came with his whole Army to relieve it, and there being a Hill near this City very advantagiouſly ſeated, they both made haſte to take it. But *Sertorius* prevented him, and took poſſeſſion of it firſt, and *Pompey* having drawn down his Forces, was not ſorry that it had thus ſucceeded, for he imagined

gined that he had hereby encloſed his Enemy between his own Army and the City, and ſent in a Meſſenger to the Citizens of *Lauron*, to bid them be of good Courage and to come upon their Walls, where they might ſee their Beſieger Beſieged. *Sertorius* perceiving their Intentions, ſmiled, and told them, he would now teach *Sylla*'s Scholar (for ſo he called *Pompey* in deriſion) that it was the part of a General to look as well behind him as before him, and at the ſame time ſhewed them ſix thouſand Soldiers which he had left in his former Camp, from whence he Marched out to take the Hill, where if *Pompey* ſhould Aſſault him, they might fall upon his Rear. *Pompey* diſcovered this too late, and not daring to give Battel, for fear of being encompaſſed in on every ſide, and yet being aſhamed to leave his Friends and Confederates in extream Danger, was forced to ſit ſtill and ſee them ruined before his Face; for the beſieged deſpaired of relief, and delivered up themſelves to *Sertorius*, who ſpared their Lives and granted them their Liberties, but burnt their City, not out of Anger or Cruelty, for of all Commanders that ever were, *Sertorius* ſeems leaſt of all to have indulged theſe Paſſions, but only for the greater Shame and Confuſion of the Admirers of *Pompey*, and that it might be reported amongſt the *Spaniards*,

Sertorius *burns the City of* Lauron *in the ſight of* Pompey *the Great, who is not able to relieve it.*

*Spaniards*, that the Fire which burnt down his Confederates, though he was ſo near as to be well warmed at it, was not able to raiſe heat enough in him, to dare to relieve them.

*Sertorius* ſuſtained ſome Loſſes in theſe Wars, but he always defended thoſe with him, and maintained himſelf Invincible, and it was by other Commanders under him that he ſuffered, and he was more admired for being able to repair his Loſſes, for ſhewing himſelf brave in danger, for recovering the Victory, when the Field ſeemed already to be loſt, than the *Roman* Generals againſt him for gaining theſe Advantages: As at the Battel of *Sucro* againſt *Pompey*, and at the Battel near *Turia*, againſt him and *Metellus* together. It is reported that the Battel near the City of *Sucro*, was fought through the impatience of *Pompey*, leſt that *Metellus* ſhould ſhare with him in the Victory, and through the willingneſs of *Sertorius* to fight with him before the arrival of *Metellus*: However *Sertorius* delayed the time 'till the Evening, conſidering that the darkneſs of the Night would be a great diſadvantage to his Enemies, either Flying, or Purſuing, who were meer Strangers, and had no knowledge of the Country. When the fight began it happen'd that *Sertorius* was not placed directly againſt *Pompey*, but againſt *Afranius*, who had Command of the left Wing of the *Roman* Army, as he

commanded the right Wing of his own; but when he underſtood that his left Wing began to give way, and yield to the furious Aſſaults of *Pompey*, he committed the care of his right Wing to other Commanders, and made haſte to relieve thoſe in diſtreſs, and rallying ſome that were flying, and encouraging others that ſtill kept their Ranks, he renewed the fight, and ſet upon them with that Force that he routed the Enemy, and brought *Pompey* who was purſuing into great danger of his Life; for after being wounded and thrown from his Horſe, he eſcaped unexpectedly, for the *Africans* with *Sertorius* who took *Pompey*'s Horſe, ſet out with Gold, and covered with rich Trappings, fell out with one another; and upon the dividing of the Spoil, gave over the Purſuit. *Afranius* in the mean time, as ſoon as *Sertorius* had left his right Wing to aſſiſt the other part of his Army, overthrew all that oppoſed him; and purſued them to their Camp, fell in with them, and plundered them 'till it was dark Night; knowing nothing of *Pompey*'s Overthrow, nor being able to refrain his Soldiers from Pillaging. When *Sertorius* returning with Victory, fell upon the Forces of *Afranius*, which were in Diſorder, and ſlew great Numbers of them; and the next Morning came into the Field again, well armed, and offered

Pompey *in great danger, wounded, and thrown from his Horſe.*

Sertorius *overthrows* Afranius.

offered Battel, but perceiving that *Metellus* was near, he drew off, and return'd to his Camp, ſaying, *If this Old Woman had not been here, I would have whipped that Boy ſoundly, and ſent him to* Rome.

*Sertorius* being much concerned that his white Hind could no where be found, whereby he was deſtitute of an admirable Contrivance, both to amuſe and encourage the Barbarous People, at a time when he moſt ſtood in need of it; ſome of his Men wandring in the Night chanced to meet her, and knowing her by her Colour, took her; to whom *Sertorius* promiſed a good Reward, if they would tell no one of it; and preſently ſhut her up: A few Days after he appeared in Publick, with a very chearful Look, and declared to the Chief Nobility of the Country, that the Gods had foretold him in a Dream that ſome great good Fortune ſhould ſuddenly attend him; and being ſet on the Tribunal to anſwer the Petitions of thoſe who applied themſelves to him, the Keepers of the Hind let her looſe, and ſhe no ſooner eſpied *Sertorius* but ſhe ran leaping with great joy to his Feet, laid her Head upon his Lap, and licked his Hands as ſhe formerly uſed to do, and *Sertorius* ſtroaking her, and making much of her again, with that tenderneſs that the Tears ſtood in his Eyes, all that were preſent were immediately

filled with Wonder and Aſtoniſhment, and afterwards accompanying him to his Houſe with reſpectful Congratulations, and loud Shouts for Joy, they looked upon him as a Perſon above the Rank of Mortal Men, as one that was influenced from above; and that was highly beloved by the Gods; and being hereby mightily encouraged they conceived far better hopes for the future.

*He fights with the* Romans *in the Territories of the* Saguntines.

When he had reduced his Enemies to the laſt extremity for want of Proviſion, he was forced to give them Battel (in the Plains near *Saguntum*) to hinder them from foraging, and plundring the Country, where both Parties fought gloriouſly,

Memmius *ſlain.*

and *Memmius* the greateſt Commander in *Pompey*'s Army was ſlain in the heat of the Battel; but *Sertorius* overthrew all before him, and with great ſlaughter of his Enemies preſſed forward towards *Metellus*.

Metellus *wounded.*

This old Commander making a ſtout reſiſtance beyond what could be expected from one of his years, was wounded with a Lance, which ſtruck amazement into all that ſaw it, or heard of it, and filled the *Roman* Soldiers hearts with Sorrow and with Shame, to be thought to have left their General in diſtreſs; but at the ſame time it provoking them to Revenge and Fury againſt their Enemies, they ſoon covered *Metellus* with their Shields, and brought him off in ſafety, and then valiantly

antly repulſed the *Spaniards*, whereby Victory changed ſides, and *Sertorius* that he might afford a more ſecure Retreat to his Army, and that more Forces might more eaſily be raiſed, retired into a ſtrong City in the Mountains; and though it was the leaſt of his Intention to ſuſtain a long Siege, yet he began to repair the Walls, and to fortifie the Gates, whereby he deluded his Enemies, who came and ſet down before the Town, hoping to take it without much reſiſtance; and gave over the Purſuit of the *Spaniards*, affording them opportunity to gather together again, and to raiſe new Forces for *Sertorius*, to which purpoſe he had ſent Commanders to all their Cities, with Orders, when they had ſufficiently encreaſed their Numbers, to ſend him word of it, which News he no ſooner receiv'd, but he ſallied out and forced his way through his Enemies, and eaſily joined with the reſt of his Army; and having received this conſiderable Reinforcement, he ſet upon the *Romans* again, and by fiercely Aſſaulting them, by alarming them on all ſides, by Enſnaring, Circumventing, and laying Ambuſhes for them, he cut off all Proviſions by Land, while with his Ships of War, and Pyratical Veſſels, he kept all the Coaſt in awe, and hindred their Recruits by Sea; whereby he forced the *Roman* Generals to diſlodge, and

*He cuts off all Proviſions from the* Roman *Army both by Sea and Land.*

to ſeparate from one another: *Metellus* departed into *Gallia*, and *Pompey* wintered among the *Baccæans*, in a wretched condition, where being in extream want of Mony, he wrote a Lamentable Letter to the Senate, to let them know that if they did not ſpeedily ſupply him, he muſt draw off his Army; for he had already ſpent his own Eſtate in the Defence of *Italy*. To theſe Extremities the Chiefeſt and the moſt Powerful Commanders of the Age, were reduced by the Skill and Valour of *Sertorius*; and it was the common Opinion in *Rome*, that he would be ſooner in *Italy* than *Pompey*: And how far *Metellus* was terrified with his Greatneſs, and at what rate he eſteemed him, he plainly declared, when he offered by Proclamation an hundred Talents, and twenty thouſand Acres of Land, to any *Roman* that ſhould kill him; and leave, if he were baniſhed, to return; attempting Villanouſly to betray and ſell him, when he deſpaired of ever being able to overcome him in open War, with all the powerful Forces of the *Roman* Empire. And when afterwards he gained ſome advantage in a Fight againſt *Sertorius*, he was ſo wonderfully pleaſed and tranſported with his good Fortune, that he cauſed himſelf to be publickly proclaimed *Imperator*, or Sovereign Commander; and ordered that all the Cities which he viſited ſhould receive him

him with Altars dedicated, and Sacrifices offered to him: Where indulging himſelf in ſplendid Entertainments, and coſtly Suppers, he would ſit drinking in his Triumphal Robes, with Garlands and Crowns upon his Head, while the Images and Figures of Victory were introduced by the Motion of Machines, bringing in with them Crowns and Trophies of Gold, to preſent to him, and Companies of young Men and Women danced before him, courted him, and ſang to him Songs of Joy and Triumph; whereby he rendred himſelf deſervedly ridiculous, for being exceſſively delighted and puffed up with the thoughts of following one that retired of his own accord, and for having once the better of him, whom he uſed to call *Sylla*'s Fugitive, and his Forces, the remainder of the ſcattered Troops of *Carbo*.

*He Conſtitutes a Senate out of the* Roman *Senators which fled to him from* Rome.

The Generoſity of *Sertorius* ſignally appeared when he appointed a Senate, and called together all the *Roman* Senators which fled from *Rome*, and came and reſided with him; and out of theſe he choſe *Prætors*, and *Quæſtors*, and adorned his Government with all the *Roman* Laws and Conſtitutions; and though he made uſe of the Arms, Riches, and Cities of the *Spaniards*, yet he would never permit them ſo much as to mention any thing of Government,

vernment, but ſet *Roman* Officers and Commanders over them, whereby he reſtored Liberty to the *Romans*, without encreaſing the *Spaniards* Power againſt them; for he was a ſincere Lover of his Country, and had a great deſire to return home, but in adverſe Fortune he ſhew'd his undaunted Courage, and behaved himſelf towards his Enemies free from all Dejection and mean Spiritedneſs; but when he was in his Proſperity, and in the heighth of his Victories, he ſent word to *Metellus* and *Pompey*, that he was ready to lay down his Arms, and live a private Life, if he were called home, declaring, that he had rather be the meaneſt Citizen in *Rome*, than Supreme Commander of all other Cities together; and it is thought that his great Love for his Country was in no ſmall meaſure promoted by the Reſpect which he had for his Mother, under whom he was brought up in his tender Years, after the Death of his Father, and upon whom he had placed his entire Affection; and after that his Friends had ſent for him into *Spain* to be their General, as ſoon as he heard of his Mother's Death, he had almoſt caſtaway himſelf, and died for Grief: for he lay ſeven Days together continually upon the Ground, without giving the Word, or being ſeen by the neareſt of his Friends;

Friends; and when the Chief Commanders of the Army, and Perſons of the greateſt Note came about his Tent, with great difficulty they prevailed with him at laſt to come abroad, and ſpeak to his Soldiers, and to take upon him the Management of Affairs, which were in a proſperous Condition; by all which he ſeems to have been of a mild and compaſſionate Temper, and naturally given to Eaſe and Quietneſs, and that he accepted of the Command of Military Forces contrary to his own Inclination; but not being able to live in ſafety, he was forced by his Enemies to have recourſe to Arms, and to eſpouſe the Wars as a neceſſary Guard for the Defence of his Perſon.

His Adminiſtration of Affairs with King *Mithridates*, does further argue the greatneſs of his Mind; for after that *Mithridates* was overthrown by *Sylla*, and had recovered himſelf; and, as a ſtrong Wreſtler that is deſirous to try another Fall, was again endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh his Power in *Aſia*, at which time the great Fame of *Sertorius* was frequently celebrated in all Places; and the Merchants which came out of *Spain* and the Weſtern Parts of *Europe*, to furniſh the *Aſiaticks* with Foreign Commodities, had filled all the Kingdom of *Pontus* with their Diſcourſes of his Exploits in

*His Treaty with* Mithridates.

in War. *Mithridates* was earneſtly deſirous to ſend an Embaſſy to him, being alſo highly encouraged to it by the Boaſtings of his Paraſites, and flattering Courtiers, who comparing *Mithridates* to *Pyrrhus*, and *Sertorius* to *Hannibal*, gave out that the *Romans* would be never able to make any conſiderable Reſiſtance againſt ſuch great Forces, and Commanders of that Temper and ſublime Judgment; when they ſhould be ſet upon on both ſides at once, on one ſide by the moſt Warlike General that ever was, and on the other ſide by the moſt Powerful Prince on Earth.

Mithridates *ſends Ambaſſadors to* Sertorius.

*Mithridates* having ſent Ambaſſadors into *Spain* to *Sertorius* with Letters, and Inſtructions, and with full Power and Commiſſion to promiſe Ships, and good Sums of Mony, towards the Charge of the War, if *Sertorius* would vouchſafe to confirm his Pretenſions upon *Aſia*, and Authorize him to poſſeſs all that he had ſurrendred to the *Romans*, in his Treaty with *Sylla*, *Sertorius* called a full Council, which he named the Senate; where, when all joyfully approved of the Conditions, and were deſirous immediately to accept of his Offer, ſeeing that he deſired nothing of them but a Name, and an empty Title to Places, not in their Power to diſpoſe of, in recom-

recompence of which they ſhould be ſupplied with what they then ſtood moſt in need of, *Sertorius* would by no means agree to it; declaring, that as he was willing that King *Mithridates* ſhould exerciſe all Royal Power and Authority over *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, Countries accuſtomed to a Monarchical Government, and not belonging to *Rome*, ſo he could never conſent that he ſhould ſeize or detain a Province, which by due Right and Title was poſſeſſed by the *Romans*, which *Mithridates* had formerly loſt in open War to *Fimbria*, and had afterwards quitted upon a Treaty of Peace with *Sylla*, for he looked upon it as his Duty to enlarge the *Roman* Poſſeſſions by his Conquering Arms, and not to encreaſe his own Power, by the Diminution of the *Roman* Territories, telling them that a generous-minded Man, tho' he willingly accepts of Victory, when it comes accompanied with Honour, yet he will never ſo much as endeavour to defend himſelf or ſave his own Life upon any diſhonourable Terms.

When this was related to *Mithridates* he was ſtruck with Admiration, and ſaid to his intimate Friends, 'What will *Sertorius* enjoin us to do, when he comes 'to be ſeated in the Senate-houſe in *Rome*, 'who at preſent, when he is driven out to 'the

'the furtheſt Parts of the Earth, bordering 'upon the far remote Weſtern Ocean, ſets 'Bounds to our Kingdoms in the Eaſt, and 'threatens us with War, if we Attempt 'the Recovery of *Aſia*? However they ſolemnly upon Oath concluded a League between them, upon theſe Terms, That *Mithridates* ſhould enjoy the free Poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia* and *Bithynia*, and that *Sertorius* ſhould ſend him Soldiers, and a General for his Army, in recompence of which the King was to ſupply him with three thouſand Talents, and forty Ships. *Marcus Marius* a *Roman* Senator, who had quitted *Rome* to follow *Sertorius*, was ſent General into *Aſia*, by whoſe Conduct when *Mithridates* had reduced divers of the *Aſian* Cities, *Marius* made his entrance with Rods and Axes carried before him, as before a Proconſul of *Rome*, and *Mithridates* followed in the ſecond place, voluntarily waiting upon him; ſome of theſe Cities he ſet at liberty, and others he freed from Taxes, ſignifying to them by Letters that theſe Privileges were granted to them by the Grace and Favour of *Sertorius*; and hereby *Aſia*, which had been miſerably tormented by the Unſatiableneſs of the Publicans, and oppreſſed by the inſolent Pride and Covetouſneſs of the Soldiers, began to riſe again, and with new

*He makes a League with King* Mithridates.

new Wings added to their former hopes, to ſoar aloft in earneſt Deſires towards their long wiſhed for change of Government.

But in *Spain* the Senators about *Sertorius* and other of the Nobility, finding themſelves ſtrong enough for their Enemies, and having no leſs hopes of returning to *Rome*; they no ſooner laid aſide all Fear, but Envy immediately, and unreaſonable Jealouſies inflamed their Minds, and chiefly *Perpenna*, who being of a noble Family, and extreamly envious of *Sertorius*'s Greatneſs, was at this time ſo arrogantly tranſported with a fond Ambition of Commanding the Army, that he threw out villanous Diſcourſes in private amongſt his intimate Acquaintance, and among thoſe whoſe ſeditious Ingratitude, had made more willing to hearken to him. 'What evil Genius '(would he often ſay) hurries us perpe- 'tually from worſe to worſe, and we who 'diſdained to obey the Dictates of *Sylla*, the 'great Ruler of Sea and Land, and might 'have lived at home in Peace and Quiet, 'are come hither to our Deſtruction, hoping 'to enjoy Liberty, where moſt wretched- 'ly we have made our ſelves Slaves of 'our own accord, and are become the con- 'temptible Guards and Attendants of the 'baniſhed *Sertorius*; who that he may 'expoſe

Perpenna *conſpires againſt* Sertorius.

'expoſe us the further, gives us a Name 'that renders us ridiculous to all that hear 'it, and calls us the Senate, when at the 'ſame time he makes us undergo more hard 'Labour, and forces us to be more ſubject 'to his haughty Commands, and Inſolen-'cies, than the Poor *Spaniards* and *Luſi-'tanians*. With theſe mutinous Diſcourſes he continually ſeduced them; and many who could not be brought to fall into Rebellion openly againſt *Sertorius*, fearing his great Power and Authority, were prevailed with, to endeavour to deſtroy his Intereſt ſecretly; and by many ways to ruin his Affairs. For by abuſing the *Luſitanians* and *Spaniards*, by inflicting ſevere Puniſhments upon them, by raiſing exorbitant Taxes, and by pretending that all this was done by ſtrict Command of *Sertorius*, they cauſed great Troubles, and made many Cities to revolt: and thoſe who were ſent to mitigate and heal theſe Differences, did rather exaſperate them, and encreaſe the Number of his Enemies, and left them at their return more obſtinate and rebellious than they found them. Which ſo highly incenſed *Sertorius*, and cauſed ſo great an alteration in his former Clemency and Goodneſs towards the *Spaniards* Sons, educated in the great City of *Oſca*; that contrary to all Civil Juſtice, he

he cruelly put ſome of them to Death, and ſold others.

In the mean time *Perpenna* having encreaſed the Number of his Conſpirators, drew in *Manlius*, a Commander in the Army, who at that time loved a Youth, and to endear him the more, diſcovered the Confederacy to him, perſwading him to neglect his other Lovers, and to be conſtant to him alone; who in a few days was to be a Perſon of great Power and Authority: but the Youth having a greater Inclination for *Aufidius*, diſcloſed all to him, which much ſurprized and amazed him; for he was alſo one of the Confederacy; but knew not that *Manlius* was any ways engaged therein; but when the Youth began to name *Perpenna*, *Gracinus*, and others, which he knew very well were ſworn Conſpirators, he was very much terrified, and aſtoniſhed; but made ſlight of it to the Youth, and bid him not regard what *Manlius* ſaid, a vain boaſting Fellow; but however went preſently to *Perpenna*, and giving him notice of the danger they were in, and of the ſhortneſs of their time, deſired him immediately to put their Deſigns in execution; and when all the Confederates had conſented to it, they provided a Meſſenger who brought feigned Letters to *Sertorius*,

*rius*, in which he had notice of a Victory obtained by one of his Lieutenants, and of the great ſlaughter of his Enemies; and as *Sertorius*, being extreamly well pleaſed was Sacrificing and giving Thanks to the Gods for proſperous Succeſs, *Perpenna* invited him and thoſe with him (who were alſo of the Conſpiracy) to an Entertainment, and being very importunate, privailed with him to come. At all Suppers and Entertainments where *Sertorius* was preſent, great Order and Decency was wont to be obſerved, for he would not endure to hear or ſee any thing that was rude and unhandſome, and their Freedom and Mirth was Modeſt and Inoffenſive; but in the middle of this Entertainment, thoſe who ſought occaſion to quarrel, fell into diſſolute Diſcourſes openly, and making as if they were very Drunk, committed many Inſolencies on purpoſe to provoke him; and *Sertorius* being Offended with their ill Behaviour, or perceiving the unquietneſs of their Minds by their muttering and ſudden Diſreſpect, changed the poſture of his lying, and leaned backward, as one that neither heard nor regarded them. When *Perpenna* took a Cup full of Wine, and as he was drinking, let it fall out of his hand, and made a Noiſe, which was the ſign agreed on between them; and *Antonius*,

*The manner of Sertorius's Death.*

*tonius*, who was next to *Sertorius*, immediately wounded him with his Sword; and whilſt *Sertorius* upon receiving the Wound turned himſelf and ſtrove to get up, *Antonius* threw himſelf upon his Breaſt, and held both his Hands, whereby not being able to free himſelf, he was expoſed to the Fury of the reſt of the Confederates, who killed him upon the place with many Wounds.

Upon the firſt News of his Death, moſt of the *Spaniards* left the Conſpirators, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and yielded themſelves up to them. *Perpenna* attempted to do ſomething with thoſe that remained, but he made ſo ill uſe of *Sertorius*'s Arms and Preparations for War, that he ſoon made it evident to all, that he underſtood no more how to Command, than he knew how to Obey, and when he came againſt *Pompey* he was ſoon overthrown and taken Priſoner; neither did he bear this laſt Affliction with any Bravery of Mind, but having *Sertorius*'s Papers and Writings in his Hands, he offer'd to ſhow *Pompey* Letters from Perſons of Conſular Dignity, and of the higheſt Quality in *Rome*, written with their own Hands, expreſly to call *Sertorius* into *Italy*, and to let him know, what great Numbers there were, that did earneſtly deſire to alter the preſent State of Affairs;

*The Spaniards forſake the Conſpirators, and yield themſelves up to Pompey and Metellus.*

and to introduce another manner of Government. Upon this occasion *Pompey* behaved himself not like a young Man, or one of a light inconsiderate Mind, but as a Generous Commander of a Confirmed, Mature, solid Judgment; whereby he freed *Rome* from great Fears and Innovations, for he put all *Sertorius*'s Writings together and read not one of them, nor suffered any one else to read them, but burnt them all, and caused *Perpenna* immediately to be put to Death, lest by discovering their Names, further Troubles and Revolutions might ensue.

*Perpenna put to Death.*

Of the rest of the Conspirators with *Perpenna*, some of them were taken and slain by the Command of *Pompey*, others fled into *Africa*, and were set upon by the *Moors*, and run through with their Darts; and in a short time not one of them was left alive; except only *Ausidius*, the Rival of *Manlius*, who hiding himself, or not being much enquired after, dyed an old Man, in an obscure Village in *Spain*, in *extreme Poverty, and hated* by all.

THE

# THE COMPARISON OF *Sertorius* with *Eumenes*.

THESE are the moſt Remarkable Paſſages, that are come to our knowledge, concerning *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*. In comparing their Lives, we may obſerve, that this was common to them both; that being Aliens, Strangers, and Baniſhed Men, they came to be Commanders of Powerful Forces, and had the leading of Numerous and Warlike Armies, made up of divers Nations. This was peculiar to *Sertorius*, that the chief Command was by his whole Party freely yielded to him, as to the Perſon undoubtedly of the greateſt Merit, and of the higheſt Worth and Renown, whereas many contended with *Eumenes*, 'till by his great Performances he at length obtained the Superiority.

The Soldiery followed the one, being earneſtly deſirous to be Commandded by him, and ſubmitted themſelves to the other

other for their own Security. The one being a *Roman*, was the General of the *Spaniards* and *Lusitanians*, who for many Years before had been under the Subjection of the *Roman* Empire; and the other a *Cherronesian*, was chief Commander of the *Macedonians*, who were the great Conquerors of Mankind, and had at that time subdued the World. *Sertorius* being already in high esteem for his Courage and Conduct, and admired for his former Services in the Wars, and his great Abilities in the Senate-house, was advanced to the Dignity of a General over a great and Numerous Army. Whereas *Eumenes* obtained this honour from the Office of a Writer or Secretary, and from having been a long while despised by the great Ones, for his Scribling Employment. Nor did he only at first take his Rise from these slender opportunities, but afterwards also met with great Impediments in the further Encrease and Progress of his Honour and Authority, and that not only from those who publickly resisted him, but from many others that privately Conspired against him; but it was much otherwise with *Sertorius*, for not one of his Party did ever Publickly oppose him, or promote any Insurrection against him; nor secretly; 'till at last a few of his Acquaintance entered

tered into a private Conſpiracy. *Sertorius* put an end to his Dangers, as often as he was Victorious in the Field, whereas the Victories of *Eumenes* were the beginning of his Calamities, through the Malice of thoſe that envyed his Glory.

Their martial Performances were equal and parallel, but their Manners and Inclinations were different. *Eumenes* naturally loved War and Contention, but *Sertorius* eſteemed Peace and Tranquility: When *Eumenes* might have lived in ſafety, with honour, if he would have quietly retired, he perſiſted in his Contentions, and made War with the greateſt of the *Macedonian* Princes, with the danger and loſs of his Life: But *Sertorius*, who was unwilling to trouble himſelf with any publick diſturbances, was forced, for the ſafety of his Perſon, to make War againſt thoſe who would not ſuffer him to live in Peace. If *Eumenes* had not violently contended for the Superiority, or could have contented himſelf with the ſecond place, *Antigonus* would have uſed him handſomly, and ſhown him all favour and reſpect, whereas *Pompey*'s Friends would never permit *Sertorius* to live in quiet. The one made War of his own accord, out of his ambition to Rule and Govern; and the other was conſtrained to accept of the Sovereign Power and Authority,

thority, to defend himſelf from his Enemies that made War againſt him. *Eumenes* was certainly a true Lover of War, for he preferred his covetous Ambition before his own Eaſe and Security; but *Sertorius* was truly warlike, who procured his own Safety by the ſucceſsful force of his Arms.

As to the manner of their Deaths, it happened to one without the leaſt thought or ſurmiſe of it; but to the other when he ſuſpected it daily; which in the firſt argued a clear equal Temper, and a noble Mind not to diſtruſt his Friends: But in the other it ſhewed ſome infirmity of Spirit, for *Eumenes* intended to fly and was taken. The death of *Sertorius* diſhonoured not his life, he ſuffered that from his Companions, that none of his mortal Enemies were ever able to perform. The other not being able to deliver himſelf before his Impriſonment, being willing alſo to live in captivity, did neither prevent nor expect his fate with any honour or bravery; for by meanly ſupplicating and petitioning, he made his Enemy, that pretended only to have power over his Body, to be Lord and Maſter of his Body and Mind.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

*FINIS.*